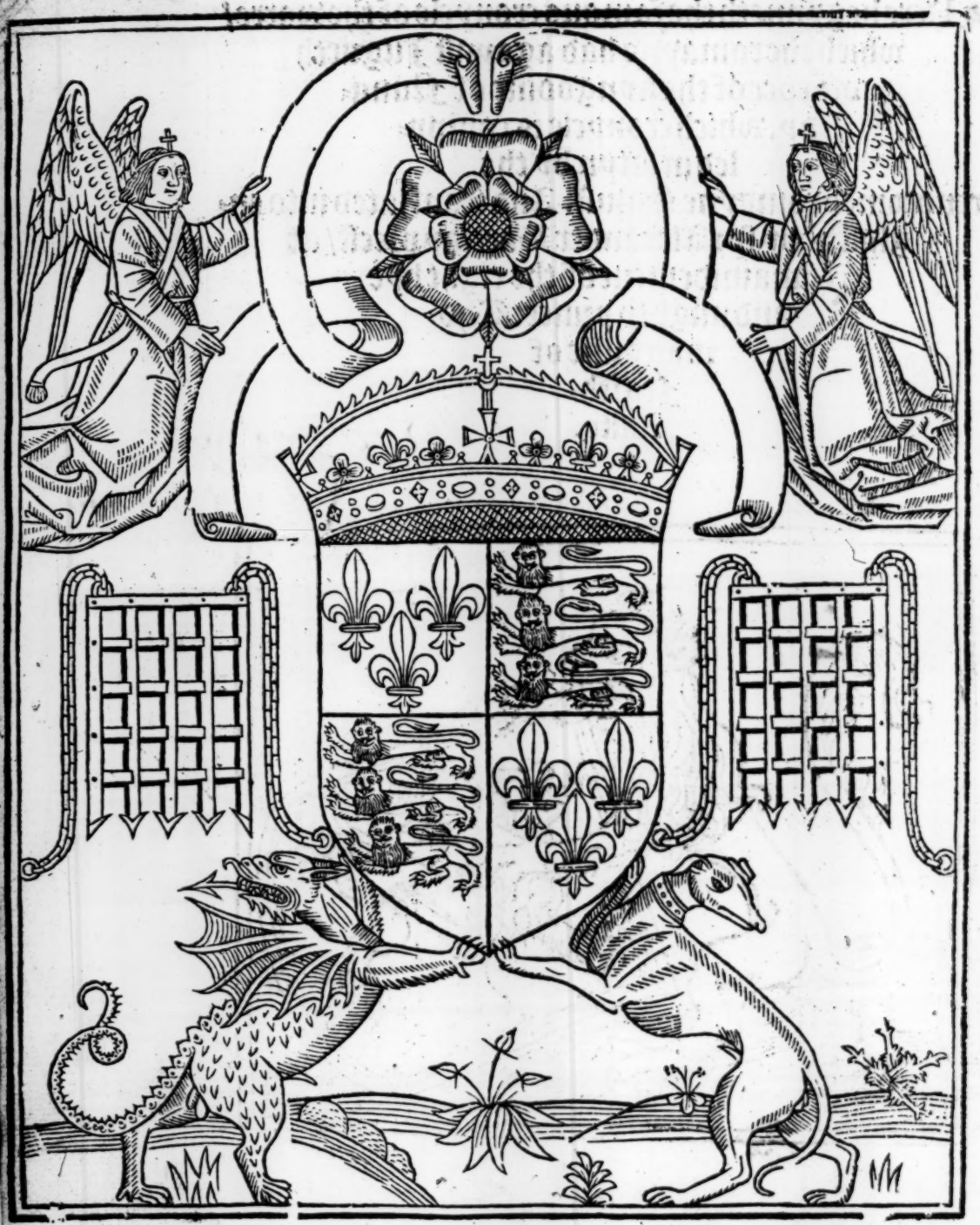
Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre/ which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth vsurper of the kyngdome of Numidy. which cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowmed romayne Salust. And translated into englysshe by syr Alexander Barclay preest/ at cõmaundement of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke.

Thomas Teyz An° 1559.

Conen Lenbu leone & draconem



# ¶ Here foloweth the table of this present hystorie.


¶ First the preface of Alexander Barclay preest/ vnto the right hy and mighty prince Thomas duke of Northfolke.

¶ A compendyous extract declaring brefely the effect and proces of this present hystorie. Fo. primo.

¶ The prologe of Salust: first copyler of this hystorie. Fo. ii.

¶ Of what mater Salust intendeth to treat in proces of this boke/ & what causes moued hym of suche matter to write. The first chappter. Fo. v.

¶ How the kyng Mallinilla came in to fauour of the romayns: and how the kyngdõe of Numidy was gyuen vnto hym. The seconde cha. Fo. vi.

¶ How Publyus Scippo counselled Jugurth at his departyng: after the cytie of Numance was distroyed. The thyrde chappter. Fo. vii.

¶ The sentẽce of the letters sende frõ Scippo/ vnto the kyng Micipsa: in cõmendatyon and laude of Jugurth. The fourth chappter. Fo. viii.

¶ Howe the kyng Micipsa adopted Jugurth vnto his soune. The fyft chappter. Fo. viii.

¶ The exhortacion or monicyon whiche the kyng Micipsa before his deth gaue to Jugurth. the. vi. cha. Fo. ix.

¶ How the kyng Micipsa departed from lyfe: and of the first cause and dyscorde betwene Jugurth and the sonnes of Micipsa. The. vii. cha. Fo. x.

¶ How Jugurth by treason slewe Hempsall the ponger sonne of Micipsa. The eyght chappter. Fo. xi.

¶ Howe Jugurth ouercame Adherball in batayle and put hym to flight: how Adherball fled to Rome to cõplayne to the senatours. & how Jugurth acloyed with rewardes many of the rulers of Rõe: by whose meanes his cruelty was defended. The. ix. cha. Fo. xii.

¶ The oratyon of Adherball in forme deliberatyue: in which he exhorteth the senatours to cõmaunde socours and ayde to be alligned to hym: puyng that came to be profitable/ honest/ & easy the romayns to do: profitable: that he might cõtynue a frende to the peple of Rome: honest: for his father and grandfather had so deserued: easy to be done: for the romains at that tyme had none other warr els where. The. x. cha. Fo. xii.

¶ How themballadours of Jugurth replyed agaynst the wordes of Adherball: & what direction was taken for both parties of the senatours of Rõe. The. xi. chappter. Fo. xvi.

¶ The dyscreption of the habytable partes of the countrey of Affrike: namely of such nations as had ample or warre with the romayns. The twelft chappter. Fo. xvii.

¶ How Jugurth inuaded the kyngdome of Adherball yet ones agayner and how Adherball agayne was ouercome in batayle/ and put to flight. The. xiii. chappter. Fo. xix.

¶ How the fauourers of Jugurth at Rome laboured to in this cause: that thre yong men inexpert: and without polycie were sende imballadours in to Affrike/ to ceale the strife betwene the two kynges: and how these imballadours retourned to Rome without any thing done. the. xiiii. cha. Fo. xx.

¶ The sentence of the letters sent frō Adherball vnto the senatours of Rome: what tyme he lay byseged by Jugurth within the towne of Cyrtha. The.rb.chappter. Fo.rrii.

¶ How the senatours sent newe imbassadours to Jugurth/ commaundyng hym to desyst from persecution of Adherball: and howe they preuayled nothyng. howe the towne of Cirtha was yelded to Jugurth/ and how he slewe Adherball. The.rbi.chappter. Fo.rrrii.

¶ Howe the senatours certifyed of ꝑ cruelty of Jugurth / prepared an army agaynst him: how thēbassadours of Jugurth were nat receyued into Rome: and how Calphurnius the romayne capten was acloyed by bribes of Jugurth. the.rbii. cha. Fo.rrriii.

¶ Howe the rulers of Rome for the mooste part were greuously dyspleased for gratifyng of the peace & dyssalowed the same: & how Mēmius inflameth the cōmen people agaynst the fauourers of Jug. ꝑ.rbiii.cha. Fo.rrbi.

¶ The oryson of Mēmius had before the cōmen people of Rome. In which oryson he inducyth thē to defend their lybertie: and to repryme & prosecute wythered the noble men of Rome. The .rir.chappter. Fo.rrbii.

¶ How Mēmius induced the peple of Rome by the sayd oryson / to ꝑ Cassius was send for Jugurth to bringe hym to Rome: to declare and accuse the supporters of his dedes. The.rr. chappter. Fo.rrr.

¶ Of the behauour of the soudyours and other which were left in Numidy: whyle Scaurus the cōsull was at Rome. The.rri.cha. Fo.rrr.

¶ How Jugurth came to Rome with Cassius: and how he behaued hymselfe there. The.rrii.cha. Fo.rrr.

¶ How Jugurth increased his cruelte at Rome/ and renued his murdre in sleayng an other nobleman of the stocke of Micipsa: by occasion wherof he was cōstrayned to depart from Rome/ & the batell renued agayne of hole. The.rriii.cha. Fo.rrri.

¶ How Albynus consull of Rome/ renued the warre agaynst Jugurth: & at last retourned agayne to Rome leyng his brother Julus in Numidy with the army in his rowme. The .rriiii.chappter. Fo.rrrii.

¶ How Julus and the romayne army were dyscōfyted of Jugurth/ and howe peace was graunted to hym by Julus: and to what shame the romayns were put by ralthe folly of the same cappytayne Julus. The.rrb.chappter. Fo.rrriii.

¶ What sorowe and heuynes was at Rome: and how they demeaned themselfe in the cytie/ after that tidynges herof were broght thyder. The.rrbi. chappter. Fo.rrrb.

¶ Wherof the dyscorde and takynge of parties bytwene the noble me and cōmens of Rome: had firll begynnyg The.rrbii.cha. Fo.rrrbi.

¶ How Metellus was creat consull and sende by the romayns to warr agaynst Jugurth: and of the wyse and discrete behauour of the same Metellus. The.rrbiii.cha. Fo.rrrbii.

¶ Of the behauour of Jugurth agaynst Metellus: and how he sende imballadours to Metellus requyryng

vnkaynedly to yelde vp ꝑ kyngdõe of Numidy to thẽpyre of Rome: & how Metellus behaued hilelf agaynſt the ſame imbaſſadours. The.xxix.chapyter. Fo.xl.

¶ Howe Jugurth prepared and addreſſed hymſelfe agayne to warre: & what ordynance and polycie he vſed agaynſt the newe conſull Metellus. The.xxx.chappter. Fo.xli.

¶ Of the firſte batayle foughten betwene Metellus and Jugurth. The .xxxi.chappter. Fo.xlii.

¶ How Bomylchar vndercaptayne of Jugurth and his cõpany were diſconfyted by Rutilyus/vndercapten of Metellus. The.xxxii.cha.fo.xliiii.

¶ What waſt and dyſtruction Metellus made in the lande of Numidy/ after this firſt batayle and flyght of Jugurth: and of the gyle of Jugurth agaynſt Metellus. The.xxxiii.chapyter. Fo.xlvi.

¶ Of the great ioy which was demeaned at Rome for this worthy behauour of Metellus: and how he gyded hymſelfe and his army/to contynue & augmẽt this honour which he had goten. The.xxxiiii.cha. Fo.xlvii.

¶ How Metellus beſyged Sãmam one of the ſtrongeſt townes of Numidy: and how Marius vndercapten of Metellus eſcaped the danger of Jugurth. the.xxxv.cha. Fo.xlviii.

¶ How Jugurth aſſayled and inuaded the tentes of the romayns/ in the meane tyme whyle Metellus gaue aſſaute to the towne of Sãmam. The .xxxvi.chappter. Fo.xlix.

¶ How Metellus behaued hymſelfe for his part/ and of the great conflyct whiche the romayns had agaynſt the Numidyãs. Metellus with his fotemen aſſayling the towne of Zammam for the one part/ and Jugurth fiercly fightyng with ꝑ romayns ſperemen for ꝑ other part. the.xxxvii.cha. Fo.l.

¶ How Metellus remoued the ſiege from Zammam: and how Bomylchar ſo perſuaded Jugurth that he yelded hymſelfe: his kyngdome/ and all other thynges to mercy and grace of ꝑ romayns: and howe Jugurth after loſſe of his men/treſour/elyphantes/ armour/and horſe: chaũged his mynde agayne. The.xxxviii.cha. Fo.li.

¶ How Marius by ambytion laboured to be conſull/ and to proſecute the warre of Numidy: and how he detracted the conſull Metellus. The.xxxix chappter. Fo.liii.

¶ How Jugurth renued the warre agaynſt Metellus: and how the Numidyans inhabytours of the towne of Vacca/ by treſon murdred the garnyſon of romayns/ whiche Metellus had ſette in the ſame towne. The.xl. chappter. Fo.lv.

¶ How Metellus diſtroyed the towne of Vacca/ and murdred all thyrtha bytauntes: and how Turpylius lyeutenant or captayne of the towne was beheeded at the commaundement of Metellus. The.xli.cha. Fo.lvii.

¶ How Bomylchar conſpyred treaſon agaynſt Jugurth: and by what meanes this treaſon was diſcouerd: and Bomylchar with certayne other were put to dethe for the ſame. The .xlii.chappter. Fo.lviii.

¶ How Metellus retired the warre agaynſt Jugurth: and how Marius

was creat consull/and assigned to exe cute the warr of Numidy: at plesure of the cõmens/ agaynst the wyll of all ỹ noble men of Rome. The.xliii. chapyter. Fo.lix.

¶Of the seconde batell foughten bytwene Metellus and Jugurth: and how Jugurth lost the batell and also one of his chefe townes named Thala. The.xliiii.cha. Fo.lx.

¶How Metellus fortified the cite of Leptis: at requeste of the balladours of the same cite/ sent thyder garnyson to defende it agaynst Jugurth and of the sytuation of the same cyte/ and behauour of the inhabytauntes therof. The.xlv.chapyter. Fo.lxii.

¶The dyscripcion of that place of Affrike which is named the Phylen auters: and for what cause the same place was first so named. The.xlvi. chapyter. Fo.lxiii.

¶Howe Jugurth assembled a newe army of the rude Getulyans agaynst the romayns: and how he associated vnto hym Boechus kyng of the maurians/to strẽgth hym in batell agaỹst Metellus. The.xlvii.cha. Fo.lxiiii.

¶Howe Metellus vsed hymselfe herying that these two kynges were confederate agaynst hym: and how after that he was certifyed that the prouynce of Numidy/ was assigned to Marius the newe cõsull: he ceassedde the warre for the nones. The.xlviii.chapyter. Fo.lxv.

¶Of the great ordynaunce and prepatton: whiche Marius the newe cõsull made agaynst Jugurth/ and for the warre of Numidy. The.xlix.chapyter. Fo.lxvi.

¶The oryson or exhortacion of Marius had to the commen people of Rome before his voyage into Numidy/ which oryson is demonstratyue: contaynyng the laude and prayse of Marius: and dysprayse and blames of the noble men of Rome. The.l. chapyter. Fo.lxvii.

¶How Marius after his exhortacyon ended: anone laded shyppes with ordynance of warre/ and sent forwarde with the same one Manlyus his iballadour: and how he hymselfe anon after folowed withall his company: and how he behaued hymselfe in Numidy/ at first begynnynge. The.li. chapyter. Fo.lxvii.

¶How Metellus the olde consull retourned to Rome: and of the worthy and valyant behauour of Marius agaynst Jugurth/ and of his great actes at his begynnyng. The.lii.chapyter. Fo.lxviii.

¶Howe Marius wanne the great and rich cyte named Capsa: and how he vtterly dystroyed the same/and gaue all the richesse therof to hauocke amonge his soudyours. The.liii.chapyter. Fo.lxviii.

¶Howe Marius by fortune more than by strength / wanne the strõgest castell of all Numidy: wherin were the treasours of Jngurth. The.liiii. chapyter. Fo.lxix.

¶How in the mean tyme whyle this castell was in wynnyng/a noble man of Rome named Lucius Sylla: cam from Rome to Marius with a great bende of horsmen: and of the maners and behauoure of this Sylla. The lv.chapyter. Fo.lxix.

¶ How Marius prevayled in batell agaynst both ỹ two kynges Jugurth and Bocchus. The. lvi. cha. Fo. lxxx.

¶ Of the great prouysion & wysdome of Marius after his victorie: and of the secõd batell which he had agaynst the two kynges: in which also he had great victorie / with great laude & honour. The. lvii. chappter. Fo. lxxxii.

¶ Howe Bocchus after that he was twyse ouercome in batayle / purposed to make peace with the romayns: and how at his request Marius sent vnto hym Sylla and Manlyus: to knowe his mynde in that behalfe. The. lviii. chappter. Fo. lxxxiiii.

¶ Of the wordes of Sylla tresourer of ỹ romayne army / had before kyng Bocchus. The. lix. cha. Fo. lxxxiiii.

¶ Of the answere of Bocchus made to Sylla: and of the vnstableneſſe of mynde of the same Bocchus. The. lx. chappter. Fo. lxxxv.

¶ How Bocchus chaunged his mynde yet ones agayne / and sende newe imballadours to Marius to treat of the peace: & how Sylla receyued and treated them in ablence of Marius. The. lxi. chappter. Fo. lxxxv.

¶ Howe Marius harde themballadours of Bocchus and sent them to Rome: and how they were answered of the senatours. ỹ. lxii. cha. fo. lxxxvi.

¶ How Marius sent Sylla agayne to Bocchus at his desyre: and what daunger the same Sylla escaped by helpe of Volux / sonne of kynge Bocchus. The. lxiii. cha. Fo. lxxxvii.

¶ Of the metyng and secrete apoynt mẽtes bytwene Bocchus and Sylla: and howe bytwene them both / they abused Aspey: the imballadour of Jugurth. The. lxiiii. cha. Fo. lxxxviii.

¶ Of the seconde cõmyng togyder of Bocchus and of Sylla: & of the wordes of Bocchus had to Sylla: and replycation and answere of Sylla agayne to hym. And how Bocchus graũted and concluded to betray Jugurth to the romayns. ỹ. lxv. cha. Fo. lxxxix.

¶ How Bocchus betrayed Jugurth and delyuerd hym bounde vnto Sylla. The. lxvi. chappter. Fo. xc.

¶ How Marius was receyued into Rome with tryumphe / and how Jugurth was cast in prison: where he contynued in myserable captyuite tyll he dyed. The. lxvii. chappter. Fo. xci.

Finis.

# The preface of Alexander Barclay preest/ vnto the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke.

Reuerẽdíſſimo in Chriſto patri ac dño: dño Ioanni Veyſy exonieñ epíſcopo Alexander Bardlay preſbyter debita cum obſeruantía. S.

MEMINI me ſuperioribus annis cũ adhuc ſacelli regij preſul eſſes: paſtor vigilantiſſime: tuis ſuaſionibus incitatũ: vt Criſpi Saluſtij hyſtoriã (quã Iugurthynũ bellũ dictitant) e romana lingua

RIght mighty/ hye/ and magnificent prince: myne hũble ſeruyce/ due vnto your grace. And the vehement affection which I haue vnto your honour and ppetuall fame/ impelleth me often tymes to deuyſe/ and to reuolue in mynde: what ſeruyce/ or pleaſure my ſymple neſſe myght

might do/ conuenyent and acceptable vnto yͤ hyneſſe: therby to teſtify the honour/ ℔loue/ and obſequy: which I knowlege my ſelfe to owe of duety vn to yͤ magnificẽce. But whan I conſyder and cõpare my ſymplenelle and impoſſibylite with your preemynent dygnite: I fynde my ſelfe greatly inſufficyent to parforme or attempt any beſyneſſe or warke which I may condygnlie preſent vnto your honorable preſence. Neuertheles after many cõſyderacions: the gratious regarde of benynge grauyte which I beholde in your countenance: and the euydent ſignes of humylite which by outwarde ſignes apereth radicate in your noble hert: reconforteth myne inſufficyence and inboldeth my ſpyrit/ ſome thyng to wrote after my cuſtõe which I may preſẽt into your gratious handes: as a ꝑpetuall remembrãce or memorial. And a euydẽt teſtimony of my deuout ſeruyce/ and amorous affection agaynſt your magnifycent hyghnes. In this conſyderation I haue reuolued many and dyuerſe volumes ſtodyng of which one: the tranſlatyon: might correſpond with your noble eſtat. But at laſt I haue remembred that a mercyall matter is mooſt congruent vnto a mercyall and dyctorious prince. Wherfore I haue attempted to tranſlate into our maternall langage the auncyent cronycle & famous hyſtorie of the warre: and dyuers batayls which the romayns dyd agaynſt the tyran Iugurth vſurper of ꝑ kyngdome of Numidy. Which hyſtorie is writen in latyn by the renowmed romayne Salluſt whoſe wordes in latyn I haue alſo adgua: in anglicam compendioſe tranſferrem: quã rem (tametſi ardua videbatur) tñ quantum per exile ingenium/ aliasq; (quæ me premũt curæ) licuit certũ erat cupeſcere: Indignum eni duxi: viri/ bonarũ literarũ ſtudioſis fauentiſſimi/ monitis literario in negotio non obtẽperare: Sane quũ adieceris/ et tibi) vniuerſis q; anglici nois proceribus rẽ gratiſſimã fore: qui plerunq; huiuſcemodi labores ſponte ſubeo: a tanto patre admonitus: non potui prouinciam recuſare. Huc accedũt illuſtriſſimi principis Thome: borialis gentis ducis hortamẽta: qui & ipe paulo poſtq; tua dñatio ad hanc prouinciam me perſuaſerit non minori impulſu/ eandẽ ad rem adegit: atq; eo: cũctantem aim redegit: vt poſtridie/ opuſculum aggrederer. Cuius quoq; magnificẽtie (vt duci rerũ militarium pitiſſimo/ hyſtoria bellicis de rebus conſcripta: cõueniret) libellum non imerito nũcupaui. Atq; vt duci ſtrẽnuiſſimo/ pontificiq; doctiſſimo motem geram: tentaui inſegnem illam hyſtoram/ bellumq; quod cum Iugurtha tyranno regni Numidiæ inuaſore: pop. romanus variſſ ſub conſulibus variaq; victoria geſſit/ ex latio ſermone: in anglicum (tuis ſub auſpiciis) traducere. Vt (te authore) habeant anglici proceres: quod ad rerũ magnarũ imitationẽ: digne relegant: Adhoc/ ipſius Criſpi Salluſtij verba huic noſtre tranſlationi ydoneum viſum eſt adiscere: tũ vt due linguæ vna in pagina/ per columnas: meo more diſticket altera alteram magis illuſtret. Tum vero: vt tetrici illi: qui ſoli ſapere videntur: quicq; ſeriosum quicq; aut graue/ vulgatem i ſermonem redigi egre ferunt ac pene dedignantur: habeant etiã quod latine legãt: obſcutius tamen: ac hyſtoriam legant: vix illis forſan/ tatis intellectam: ni vel cõmentatiorum aut interpretis alicuius eluſidatricis interuenirent. Atqui hunc nr̃m laborẽ/ viris literatis: ac latine lingue eruditis tedio futurũ: vix facile crediderim: verum plerisq; proceribus: quibus eſt romana lingua:

gua: vix bene intellecta: non dubium est et delectamẽto futurum ac cõmodo Nẽpe eodem ad linguæ latinę intellectũ aliquantulũ madiumenti acquirent: hystoriam etiam pertutilem intelligẽt/ nulli mortalium generi non necessariã: potissimumq; nobilibus adolescẽtulis/ qui rei militaris exercitijs clarissimis ad famam gloriamq; nituntur. Verum eniuero: non dubito futuros qui huic laborimeo: quantũuis vtili calumnientur: quiq; forsan oblatrabunt/ homini sacerdoti: sacreq; religionis obseruantijs iniciato: longe alienum esse atq; absurdũ sese militaribus rebus implicare/ aut bellicis sese immiscere tumultibus/ consilio/ factis: scriptisue. Cæterum: quo huiusce modi obtractatorum liuorum compescam: ponti fex egregie/ hoc i loco: haud absurdũ videtur aliquid inserere: quod tam historiæ cõmoditates paucis aperiat q̃/ quod calumniãtium huiusce modi liuorem cõpescat. Ac primũ quidem fateor/ magis sacerdotem decere/ magisq; par esse constancia/ sacrarum literarum peritia/ vite sanctimonia/ ac puritate/ ceterisq; virtutibus sese armare: atq; hijs præsidijs quasi fulgentibus armis munitum: forti fidentiq; animo vicijs bellum indicere/ obstinatosq; scelerum sectatores persequi. Ad hac ingenti præcore totisq; animi viribus/ carnalibus cõcupiscentijs: mundi blãdimentis: et antiqui hostis suggestionibus reluctari. Nempe hoc modo: Iob attestante: Militia est vita hois sup terram: ac vere miseriarum labarinthus/ inextricabilium q; errarum domus ambigua: neque infitior sane: viri sacris iniciati ac diuinis ministerijs addicti militiam: talem esse debere. Verum altera illa militia seculi amatoribus permittitur: vt. s. vim vi repellat. Neque ab ea abstineri posse arbitror: presertim in orbe tot tyrannicis inuasionibus obruto/ tot odiosis exactionibus spoliato/ tot raptorum gregibus laniato. Quorum atrox pertinatia: insultusq; ferocissimi: non aliter reprimi possint:

so added vnto ỳ marge of this my trãslation to thy intẽt that such as shall dysdayne to rede my translatyon in englysshe: may rede this hystorie more compendyously and more obscurely writtẽ in latyn. Which hystorie: parauenture shall apere more clere and playne vnto theym in many places by help of this my trãslation. Which shal nat be to tedyous to such as be lerned and vnderstande latyn: but vnto many noble gẽtylmen which vnderstand nat latyn tongpfetly. I dout nat but that this my labour to thẽ shalbe both pleasure and profet. For by the same they shall haue some help toward the vnderstãdyng of latyn: which at this tyme is almost contẽned of gẽtylmen. And also they shall vnderstande a ryght fruytfull hystorie: both pleasant/ profytable/ and ryght necessary vnto euery degre: but specially to gentylmen/ which couеyt to attayne to clere fame and honour: by glorious dedes of chyualry. But I dout nat: but that some calumnyous detractours shall malygne agaỹst this my besynes and profitable labour/ sayeng ỳ to a preest and man professed to obseruãce of relygion: it is farre contrary and dysagreyng to taugle hym selfe with warfare: or to intermyt with thynges of batayle: outher by dedes/ counsell or writyng. But to stoppe the mouthes of such calumnyatours: moost soueraine prince: me semeth ryght and cõuenyent in this place: sõwhat to write as well cõcernyng the cõmodytes and laudes of hystories: as a preuent vnto myne owne excusation. And firste I knowlege it moche more cõuenyent: a

preest to

pꝛeest to arme hymselfe with constaunce/ holy
scripture/ pureneſſe of lyfe/ and radyant ver-
tues: and with ſuche ſocours and armour de-
fended: boldely/ and valyantly/ to bydde ba-
taple agaynſt vyces: and to purſue the obſty-
nate ſynners of this woꝛlde. And to contende
alſo againſt the temptacions of his carnall cõ
cupyſcences/ agaynſt theſe mundayne blandy
mẽtes and delectacyons: and agaynſt his gõ-
ſtely ennemies ſuggeſtyons. Foꝛ vnder this
maner (as affermeth the holy man Job) man
nes lyfe vpon yerth is but a warfare/ ⁊ a very
maſe of myſeries: an intrycate circute of vary
able: and ineuytable errours. Foꝛ certayne I
deny nat: but that ſuch ought to be the warfa-
re of a man within holy oꝛders: auowed ⁊ ſub
myt vnto ꝯ holy minyſteries ⁊ auters of god.
But this other temperall warre is permytted
vnto woꝛldely lyuers: and may nat be ompt-
ted: namely in this woꝛlde oppꝛeſſed with ty-
rãny of inturyous and odyous exactours and
oppꝛeſſours: whoſe obſtynate pꝛeſumptyons/
aſſautes/ and inualyons can nat otherwyſe be
repꝛeſſed: than by vyolence/ armour/ and ba-
taple: by minyſtracion of good and right wyſe
pꝛynces defenders and mayntayners of the
commen wayle. Than it is laufull: a pꝛeeſt to
wꝛite ſuch actes foꝛ example of our poſteryte:
foꝛ parpetuall remembꝛaunce of the laudes of
good pꝛinces/ which haue ben here in erth the
ſcourges of god to coꝛrect tyꝛannes and ſyn-
ners. Thus: great is ꝯ laude and many be the
commodyties and vtilyties of hyſtoꝛies and
cronycles. In hyſtoꝛe is the recoꝛder of tymes
paſſed: the light of veryte: the maiſtres of mã
nes lyueng: the pꝛeſydent of memoꝛie: the meſ
ſanger of antyquite. And (as Tytus Lyuius
recoꝛdeth in his pꝛologue) the knowledge of
hyſtoꝛies among other thynges is moſt hol-
ſome/ neceſſary/ ⁊ pꝛofitable. Foꝛ euery good
example whiche in them is wꝛitten: is ſet foꝛ a
warnyng

poſſint: q̃ violenti armorum tu
um/ tu idq; auſpiciſs bonorum
principum reipublice fautorũ.
Neque minus decere exiſtimo:
huiuſcemodi: modis res geſtas/
preſ byterum literis mandare:
in poſteritatis exemplum inq;
perpetuam bonorum pricipum
memoriã glorioſam: qui ad ty-
rannorum aliorumq; ſceleratо
rum flagitia coercenda: ſummi
dei optimi maximi: flagella in-
terris fuere: q̃ duces illos ma-
gnanimos huiuſcẽodi bella ſtẽ
nue geſſiſſe.
Cæterum quæ ad hyſtoriæ com-
moditates attinent: q̃ breuiſſi-
me potero abſoluam. Nẽpe ex
eiuſdem lectione (vt Beroaldus
q̃ diſertiſſime proſequitur) om
nium etatum/ omnium gentiũ:
omnium populorum res geſtas
quaſi preſentes intueri poſſi-
mus: quod quanti ſit: Cicero de
clarat dicens. Nihil earum re-
rum ſcire: quę anteq̃ naſcereris
facte ſunt: faciem ſemp eſſe pu-
erum. Cumq; ſenibus maior ſit
experientia fidesq; maior pro-
pter vnius ſeculi rerum cogni-
tionem: quanto maior eſſe de-
bet hyſtorias lectitanti: ex qui-
bus tot ſeculorum res geſte re-
petũtur. Eſt enim hyſtoria te-
ſtis tẽporum: lux veritatis: vi-
te magiſtra: vetuſtatis nuntia:
quæ et oratori perq̃ eſt neceſſa-
ria. Nam alere poteſt (vt Quin
tilianus ait) orationem: molli
quodam ac ſucundo ſucco: nec
ferme cõcionem reperies i qua
non alicuius rei geſte citetur e-
xemplum. Eſt preterea (vt idẽ
Beroaldus inquit) operi preciũ
in hyſtoricoꝝ voluminibus om
nis exempli documenta velut i
illuſtri monumẽto poſita intue
ri. Atq; (vt Diodorus inquit)
pulchrũ

pulchrum est ex aliorum errat; vitam nostram in melius instituere et quid expetẽdum/ quid fugiendum: quidue fugiem dum sit ex aliorũ exemplis posse cognoscere: nõ ab re: igitur Demetrius Phalerus Ptolomeum regem admonebat: vt libros/ ac p̃sertim hystoricos: lectitaret qñ quidem: quæ amici non audent principibus demõstrare: ea omnia in libris scripta: oculis obiiciuntur. Hæc Beroaldus Ascẽcius/ cæteriq; autores/ de hystoriæ laude scripsere: quibus ex dictis quanti sit hystoria q̃q̃ ad vitam humanam vtilis ac commodat atque nemini non claresci. Quas res si liuidi oblatratores perpendant (perpenderent autem et saperent) pontifex eximie. Haud absurdum in eptumne existimabunt/ sacerdotem hystorias rerum militariũ literis commendare nec minus volũtatis ac cõmodi/ egregijs viris ineisdem lectitandis prouenturum. Quippe (vt paucis dicã) iusto bello: diuina humanaq; iura aut violata reparantur: aut in violata conseruant scelera reprimuntur: flagicioſi coercentur: virtus eminet/ claresci/ extollitur: boni probiq; debitis honoribus illustrantur promouentur: Christi fides cõtra eiusdem sacratissimi nominis hostes protegitur munitur: tyranni legum contemptores a lieneque libertatis direptores subiiciuntur. postremo diuina humanaq; omnia debitum in ordinem rediguntur stabiliuntur et augescunt.

Præterea eadem rerum gestarũ lectio ad rerum terrenarum notitiam: earundemq; contemptũ ac presentis vite miseriarũ fastidium:

warnyng and monycion vnto princes and gouernours therby to rule and order themselfe: and a commen wayle. And euery exãple of myserable fortune of tyrannes/ is set as a monycion for the same gouernours nat to be of tyrannes behauour/ lest at last they may fall into lyke myserable ruyne: and calampte. And also (as sayth Cicero) a mã to knowe nothing of þ which was done before his tyme and remembrance: that is as who sayth alway to be a chylde. But it is a thyng very comely: and necessary before other: to knowe these cronycles and noble actes of auncyent tyme and remẽbrance to kepe in mynde the order and courses of antyquite: and to haue in mynde the knowledge of examples for euery mater and purpose. For in likewyse as vnto aged men is more credẽce and auctorite gyuen/ than to yong men: bycause of experyence of many thynges. So such noble and dilygent mynd as delyteth in reding hystories: may haue knowlege nat onely of þ dedes of one mannes lyfe: but also of the dedes mooste famous of all tymes/ syth creation of þ worlde. Wherfore (as sayth Dyoderus) it is a comely and fayre thing/ moch necessary and cõmendable: a man to reformme and amende his lyfe/ by example of an other mannes faute. Wherfore Demotre⁹ Phalereus þ great philosopher: after warned and coũselled the kyng Ptolomy to exercise hiselfe in often redyng of bokes of hystories. For in so doynge: princes shall fynde written in bokes before their eyen right many thinges concernyng their wayle/ honour/ and fame: whiche their frendes dare nat be bolde to tell them for drede of displesure farthermore without the knowlege of hystories neuer man coude become good Oratour. For (as affermeth Quintylian) hystories be of such might and affect that they may norisshe the spech of an oratour with soft and swete lycour. These premysses with other lyke consydered:

vered moost magnificēt prince: me thinketh it thing nat incōuenyent to a preest to write of hy stories of warre: and also both plesant and p̄fitable to noble men to exercyse themselfe in re dynge the same. For brefely to speke by right wyse batell: the lawes of god and man be mentayned: vyce and vycious men corrected: vertue/ and good mē rewarded and exalted. Our fayth agaynst infydels defended: rebellers and tyrannes subdued: and fynally all thynges dyrected and to due order reduced. Farthermore the same redyng of hystories semeth to quayle nat a lytell to the knowledge and contempt of this transytorie pleasure mundayne and mysery of this vncertayne lyfe. For whan hystories represent before our syght the valyant and bolde herted knyghtes shyning in armour: & richely apareiled: on comely coursers barded and trapped with golde and syluer: the goodly order and ordynance of a great army of armed men shynyng in harneise: fierse/ and prepared redy to batell: the trumpettes soundyng the golden stremers and standerdes blasynge and glystering agaynst the sonne: and brefely all the groūde ouercouerd with men & riches. What els is all this: but a vayne ostentation of perthly opulence: and caduke glorie prepared besely/ assembled laboriously/ and expoled folishly and furiously vnto dystruction and to pardycion. But agayne anon after: whan we rede and se in the same hystories the valyaunt mēnes bodyes prostrate one the grounde: the carkases of kynges/ dukes/ erles/ knyghtes/ and pages mengled all togyder: all pride and contencyon abated. The bright harneise dyed with blode: the wounded coursers drawynge after them the deed bodyes of their lordes: the men cryeng: the tentes and townes brennynge. What is all this sight with otherlyke. For soth nought els but an eydēt spectacle of mannes brutall crudelyte: and an example of mundayne

fidium: non modicum videtur conducere. Sane cum hystoriarum lectio ante oculos obiciat: magnanimos duces ac milites armis fulgentibus decoratos sonipedibus ostro auroque insignibus insidentes: splendidos ordines apparatusq; exercituum: feroces ac bello instructos: lituos a rauco clāgore aera replentes: vectes vexillosq; auro fulgentes ad solemq; micantes: ceteraq; id genus rei militaris insignia. Quid aliud q̄so vniuersa hæc pōpa/q̄ terrene opulētie inanis ostentatio: curiosiose cōquesita: anxie coacervata: et ad ruinam perniciemq; ingenti mortalium demēcia obiecta et inq; perditionem exposita/ At contra: cum paulo post eisdem in hystoriis legamus et quasi ante oculos cernamus: duces comarcos/ satrapas equites veteranos/ gregariosq; milites sparsim postratos horrida ferrociū cadauera humi strata mortibundaq; membra solum pulsancia/ occisorum cumulos siue delectu cōcultata arma sanguine fedata saucios equos moribunda dominos; corpora trahentes gemitum/ morientium: flammam ac fumum castrorum vrbium templorumq; ardentiū cæteraq; belli horrenda spectacula. Quid ea atq; huiuscemodi id genus alia? Nempe nihil aliud q̄ manifesta mortaliū belluine feuicie argumenta: terrene vanitatis exempla: humaniq; exitus miseranda spectacula: quæ principum immoderatam dominādi libidinem declarant: quæq; secundas res generi humano intollerabiles probant: ac suiipsius stulticia: ne dicam dementia in præcipiciū

ruentem

tuentem hominem manifestāt. Innumerabilia saluberrimaq; huiuscemodi exempla: quæ ex rerum gestarum lectione proueniunt: animum adigerūt vt ex latino in vulgarem sermonem hanc hystoriam transferrē: atque eo libentius quoniam rem gratam acceptamq; tibi futurā intelligo. Equo igitur animo accipias queso: præsul egregie hanc laboris nostri lucubraciū culam. In qua quicquid absurdum ineptū minusq; elimatum fuerit: id meæ ignorātiæ ascribi velim. Si vero quid consonū quod legentium audiētium ve animos aut aures oblectet obiter occurrat: omnem in te præsul egregie: gratiam transferri volo qui olim primus ad hunc me impuleris laborem: sopitūq; ingeniolum ac studium resuscitaueris. Vale.

Ex cellula Hatfeldeñ regii in Idus Nouembris.

Tuus totus si quid est Alexāder Barcleus presbyter.

mundayne banyte: declaryng the immoderat and insacyable desyre of dompnion of yerthely princes: and prouyng that vnto man welch is intollerable / and confounded by his owne folly. These manyfolde and holsome exāples: represented before our sight by redyng of cronycles: hath moued my mynd to trāslate this present hystorie forth of latyn into our maternall langage. But among all other noble men of this region: moost hye and mighty prince: ye seme vnto me moost worthy and conuenyent: to whose grace I shuld dedycate this hystore: bothe for myne owne duety to be obserued agaynst your magnifycence: and also for the excellent worthynesse of your merytes and great polycie of chyualry / which lately haue apered in you: whyle ye nat with lesse wysdōe / than valyantyse haue banquyshed the inuasyour and vyolent ennemy of the cōmen wayle of englande. In which noble and glorious act ye haue proued yo' selfe like vnto mighty Marins. But this I omytte: as thyng euydently knowen to euery man: lest I myght seme rather to recount these your strong dedes for adulation: than for true relation. Wherfore most myghtie and magnifycent prynce: pleaseth it your hyghnesse of gratious benyuolence to accept this small present / translated by yo' beedman to pleasure and profet of all gentylmen of this our region: but namely of your hyghnes and of the noble men of your progeny and affynyte. But to thyntent that this my small gyft somwhat may be augmented: my selfe / my seruyce / and prayer: I offre withall vnto your hyghnes.

Thus endeth the preface of this present cronycle:
by Alexander Barclay preest/ dyrect
vnto the right hye and
mighty prince
Thomas
duke of Northfolke.

# Here begynneth a cõpendyous extract contayning breffely the effect and proces of this present cronycle compyled in latyn by the famous Romayn Salust. And translated into englysshe by Alexander Barcley preest at commaũdement of the ryght hygh and myghty prince Thomas duke of Northfolke.

IN this present cronycle or hystory of Rome: is written the batayle whiche the Romayns had with Jugurth usurper of the kyngdome of Numydy. The lande of Numydy is part of the coũtrey of Affryke. In which raygned sõtyme a kyng named Massynyssa: felowe and frende to the empyre of Rhome. This Massynissa had thre sõnes thus named/ Micipsa/ Manastaball/ and Galussa. But after the deth of Manastaball and Galussa: the first brother Micipsa obtayned the kyngdome of Numydy alone without any partyner. For after the custome of Numydy heritages are wont to be deuyded among brethern by equall portyons after dyscease of their parentes of whome suche herytage ishuyth. This Micipsa so crowned kynge of hole Numidy had two sonnes/ the first called Adherball/ the seconde Hiempsall. But his brother Manastaball which was depted before/ left behynde hym one bastarde sonne named Jugurth: to whom his grandfather Massinissa bequethed none heritage but left hym priuate without lãde or lyuelodde for asmoche as he was a bastarde & vnlaufully borne. The kynge Micipsa was moued with pyte and compassyon agaynst this Jugurth: and consyderynge that he was his brothers sonne and without confort he receyued hym into his house/ and cherysshed hym in all thynges as he dyde his owne sonnes. This Jugurth as he grewe in stature: so grewe he in all gyftes belongyng to nature/ and becam a right strong and hardy knyght/ and also more excellent in wysdome than in courage or myght/ and was moche elder than the two sonnes of Micipsa: named Adherball/ and Hiempsall. What tyme Micipsa consydered ye flouryng age manlynes/ & wysdome of Jugurth. And on the other part whan he remembred the feble yongth and vnexpert of his owne two sonnes in this aduysemẽt his mynde was sore troubled with drede: lest after his dethe the same Jugurth myght inuade and usurpe vnto hym selfe the kyngdome of Numydy/ his owne two sonnes

HVius hystorię narrationem ne inaniť noua quętã aut superbe inuẽta cõtemnã sic ex Ioanne Chrisostomo soldo habeto. Exordio premisso rẽ ipsã aggrediť. Numida est pars Affricę in qua regnauit Massinissa rex socius/ et amicus populi romani.

Hic Massinissa tres habuit filios Micipsam/ Manastabalẽ/ et Galussã. Sed mortuo Manastabale et Galussa: Micipsa solus regnũ obtinuit/ qui Adherbalem/ et Hiempsalẽ filios ex se genuit. Iugurtham autem filium fratris Manastabalis educauit vt filiũ quem Massussa annus priuatum reliquerat: quia ex cõcubina natus erat.

Sed Jugurtha et corporis viribꝰ ac virtute animi plurimum valebat/ ingenio maxime excellens: maior hatũ Adherbale et Hiempsale Micipsa igiť timens ne post mortem forte Iugurtha paruis liberis Adherbale et Hiempsale existentibus regnum sibi vsurpare/ multã eo negocio per nonus

eſt: multaq; in aio volueba quib⁹ modis regni inuasorē (vt ipe timebat) tollere posſit e medio. Tādem hec in aio herebat sentēcia: se velle Iugurthā belli periculis obiectare et eo modo fortunam tētare si quo modo perire posſet. Quum igit populus romanus Numāciam Hiſpanie ciuitatē duce Scipione obſideret Micipſa auxilia peditū et equitum ad id bellū populo romano miſit: quib⁹ Iugurthā pfecit sperans illū in eo bello posſe i terire. Sed ea res lōge aliter ac rat⁹ erat euenit. Nā virtus Iugurthe i eo bello plurimū enituit: ac multa preclara facinora geſſit: Cb quę Scipio Iugurthā in cōcione laudatum: ac donis militaribus magnifice donatū: finito bello: ac capta et deleta Numācia: ad Micipſā remiſit eum litteris in quibus virtutē Iugurthe miris laudib⁹ extollebat Quo factū eſt vt Micipſa mutato cōcilio atq; aio: quē antea iterire cupiebat: hūc maxime incolumem vellet Micipſa igit Iugurthā ſibi i filiū adoptauit: et paulo poſt moriens fortunas ſuas oēs: ac regnū ipſū: cū liberis cōmune reliquit. Mortuo Micipſa: cū reguli Adherbal / Hiēpſal / et beyng nat of power to defende thēſelfe. Micipſa after theſe thinges cōſydred: determyned to obiect this Jugurth vnto paryll of batayle and by ſuch menes to aſſay if it myght fortune hym to be ſlayne in batell. Therfore what tyme ỹ romayns hauyng Scipio for their captayne / beſeged the cyte of Numance: this Micipſa ſent vnto the romayns to ỹ ſame batayle great ſocours both of horſmen and of fotemen. And made Jugurthe captayn ouer them. This dyde he truſtynge that it was poſſyble and lykely ynough that this Jugurth a knyght yonge / luſty / and deſyrous of honour myght by ſome chaunce of fortune be ſlayne in batayle as I ſayd before. But at concluſyon it fortuned moche contrary. For the boldneſſe and ſtrength of Jugurthe in that batayle was well proued and knowen. For many noble and valyant actes of chyualry dyd he: wherby he wanne moche laude and glory: with great loue & fauour nat onely of Scipio the captayne / but alſo of all the nobleſt men of the Romayne army. Inſomoche ỹ after this batayle was fynyſſhed: and the cyte of Numance diſtroyed the captayne Scipio aſſembled his hole armye: and before them all with magnificent and fauorable wordes cōmended Jugurth with maruelous laudes. This done he rewarded hym with many & ryche gyftes of chyualry. And ſent hym agayne to the kyng Micipſa with letters / wherin alſo he commended this Jugurth with great laude and prayſyng. By inſtigatyon of which thynges it ſo be fell: that where as the kyng Micipſa nat long before deſyred nothyng more than ỹ deth of Jugurth: nowe he coueted nought ſomoche as conſeruatyon of his lyfe & helth. So that nat long after he adopted hym as his ſonne and ordayned in his teſtament hym to be one of his heyres & partyner of his kyngdome with his two other naturall ſonnes. Which ordynaunce he neuer chaunged / but at his departyng increaſed his fauour and benefytes anenſt the ſame Jugurth leuynge hym nat onely partyner of his kyngdome: but alſo of all his treaſours. And beſyde this betreyd hym to be protectour of his two naturall ſonnes / and of their porcyons of the kyngdome. Sone after this ordynaunce ỹ kyng Micipſa departed frō lyfe. But whan ỹ thre prynces Adherball / Hiempſall / and Jugurth determyned among them the tyme whan the treaſoure ſhulde be deuyded and the boundes of the kyngdome lymyted to them eche one his part: at this aſſemble grewe a dyſſencion betwene Hiempſall / & Jugurth by occacyon wherof Jugurth ſhortly after ſlewe Hiempſall by treaſon and gyle. After this Hiempſall was ſlayne Jugurthe fired his mynde to poſſeſſe the hole kyngdome of Numydy. Wherfore he

prepared a great and strong army agaynst the other brother Adherball: and at last whan bothe mette in batayle the army of Adherball was ouerthrowen. And hymselfe put to flyght Adherbal thus ouercome and spoyled of his kyngdome fledde vnto Rome: and there before the senatours declared the tyrannous cruelte of Jugurth agaynst hym cõmytted and agaynst his brother Hiempsall cruelly murdred: desiryng socours of the same senatours w̃ pytefull wordes and lamentable complayntes. At conclusyon it was decreed of the senatours that .x. noble men of Rome shulde be sent embassadours to Numydy to deuyde the kyngdome betwene Adherball and Jugurth indyfferently. The same embassadours hasted them to Numydy and dyde the cõmaundement of the senate to thẽ iniopned: but more to the fauour of Jugurth than of Adherball. Whan ꝑ kyngdome was departed and deuyded/and the sayd embassadours were also departed frõ Affryke towarde Rome: Jugurth sette his mynde yet ones agayne to inuade and vsurpe the part of ꝑ kyngdome which belonged to Adherball by assignement of the embassydours. Wherfore he assembled a newe army. And with the same inuaded his kyngdome: Adherball compelled by necessyte assembled also an other army for his part. And proceded forthe and mette with Jugurth. But anone after they ioyned batayle Jugurth ouerthrewe the hoost of Adherball and put hym to flyght/cõstrayning hym to fle with a fewe horsemen about hym into a walled towne nere by named Cyrtha. Jugurth anone beseged the towne on all partes. In the meane tyme Adherball by letters certyfied ꝑ senatours of Rome in what state Jugurth had brought hym. How he was bereft of his kyngdome by cruelte and ambysiõ of Jugurth: how he was brought to extrempte by hunger and force of armes nat able to abyde the besegynge any lenger: howe it appered euydently that Jugurth set ayell by the decrees & ordynaunce of the senatours/ And at conclusyon of the same letters he humbly besought the senate of ayde and socours in this his extrempte. Whan these letters were redde before the senatours assembled: many of them were: which iuged it thynge expedyent and cõuenyent: to socour Adherball. And anone to sende an army into Affryke agaynst Jugurthe. But his frendes whome he hadde bought for money at Rome: made suche resystence that no suche ordynaunce coude come to effect nor passe forthe agaynst hym. Neuertheless newe embassydours were sent ones agayne to Jugurth: and that men auncyent/and of great authorite: to compell and cõmaunde hym in name of the senatours to desyst from his enterprise and cruel-

Jugurtha regnũ inter se diuidere cõstituissẽt loco et tempore ad id faciendũ cõstituto Jugurtha Hiẽpsalem natu minorẽ ꝑ insidias interfecit. Quo extincto quũ ad occupãdũ vniuersum regnũ iecisset animũ cõtra Adherbalẽ exercitũ parat: et ꝑ lio facto illũ victũ fundit fugatq; Adherbal victus ac regno spoliatus Romã venit: expositaq; nephãda crudelitate Jugurthę in se/ fratrẽq; suũ Hiẽpsalẽ extinctũ a senatu petit auxiliũ cõtra illũ. Senat⁹ decreto fit vt mittãtur decem legati q̃i regnũ inter Adherbalem et Jugurthã diuiderẽt. Diuiso itaq; regno cũ legati Romani ex Affrica discessissẽt rursus Jugurtha animũ intẽdit ad occupandũ imperiũ Adherbalis Igit exercitu cõparato regnũ eius inuadit. Adherbal necessitate coactus: et ipse copias parat: et Jugurthę obuiã proficiscit. Mox ꝑlio cõmisso Jugurtha Adherbalis exercitũ fũdit; atq; ipsũ Adherbalẽ cũ paucis equitib⁹ i Cirthã oppidũ fugere cõpellit. Jugurtha oppidum obsidet. Interea Adherbal plras senatum monet quo i statu fortune sue sint posslte: regnõ se spoliatum a Jugurtha esse: fame ac ferro ad

extrema esse deductū nec āplius obsidionem posse sustinere. Iugurthā decreta senatus p uisacere: petere vt sibi auxliū mittat. His lris in senatu recitatz fuerūt qui cēcerēt statī Adherbali subueniē dū esse: et exercitū in Affricā contra Iugurthā esse mittēdū. Sed retistētibus amicis Iugurthę quos sibi pecuniis pauerat: ne quid tale fieret. Legati ad Iugurthā mittunt qui verbis senat⁹ eū ab incepto desistere cogerēt Iugurtha legatis verba dedit quoadusq; discesserē Quo facto illi qui Iugurthā cōtra cū Adherble itra oppidū obsidebant psuadēt ei vt opidū Iugurthę tradat: tātū ab eo vitā petat Deditione igit facta Iugurtha statī contra fidē datā Adherbalē excruciatū iterficit Quę quū Rome nūciata essēt: grauit a senatu sūt habita. Igit Lucī⁹ Calphurnī⁹ Bestia cōsul cū exercitu contra Iugurthā mittit a quo cōsul pecunia corrupt⁹ turpit cū eo fed⁹ fecit: quā rē senat⁹ populusq; roman⁹ grauiter tulit Post Calphurniū Albin⁹ cōsul mittit cōtra Iugurtham a quo diu ludificationi b⁹ tractat⁹ cum ei rex spēdeditiōis faceret: tādē re ifacta quia tēpus comitiorū istabat

ty in payne of their hye dysplealure. Jugurth blynded these imballydours with fayre wordes and rewardes tyll they were departed agayne from Numydy to Rome without any thyng brought to ende. Whan this was knowen at Cyrtha where Adherball lay beleged: they which were w̄ Adherball within ẏ towne counselled hym to yelde vp the towne to Jugurth vpon condyci on onely to haue his lyfe pardoned vnto hym Adherball cōstrayned by fampyne and other necessyties condyscended to this counsell. But anone after the towne was yelded Jugurth contrary to his fayth and promes which he had made to Adherball: slewe hym with greuous and horryble tourment. Whan this dede was knowen at Rome: ẏ senatours wereforе moued agaynst hym. And toke his demeanoure & dedes in humayne greuously. Wherfore by cōmen assent of the senatours and cōmens of Rome: one named Lucyus Calphurnius that tyme cōsull of Rome was sent with a strong army into Numydy agaynst Jugurth. But within shorte season this Calphurnius corrupted and accloyed with money by Jugurth made a foule bonde of peace w̄ hym to great dyshonoure and shame bothe of hym selfe/ and of all the empyre of Rhome: for which dede the senatours and cōmens of Rhome were greuously dysplealed. Wherfore Calphurnius was called home agayne to Rome with great dyshonoure and rebuke. After this Calphurnius/ an other romayn named Albynus was elect consull and dyrect with newe supplemēt of warryours into Numydy agaynst Jugurth. But this Jugurth droue him forth vnder hope and coloure as yf he wolde yelde hymselfe to the sayd Albynus: so longe tyll at last the tyme approched of electyon of newe consuls. Wherfore Albynus of necessyte constrayned: and as decrees of the romayns commaunded: retourned agayne to Rome to be at the sayd electyon (as he was bounde) without any dede laudably done in Numydy. And at his departynge he left behynde hym in Numydy his brother named Aulus: to be cappitayne in his stede/ and ruler of his army: and also of the ,puynce where ẏ same army sotourned tyll the wynter were ouer passed. What tyme Albynus was departed towarde Rome: this Aulus blynded by rasshenes/ and foly/ behaued hym selfe right vndyscretely in his rowme. In somoche that he called the army vnto viage/ and warfare forth of theyr tentes in the moneth of Jānuary: in coldest/ and sharpest season of wynter this dyde he: other bycause he trusted to ende the batayle in his tyme: and so therby to wynne thanke/ and worshyppe: or els to thentēt to gete money of Jugurth by graūtyng vnto hym peace & rest for his tyme. And

so to cõstrayne hym to bye his peace. Whan Jugurth perceyued this vnerpertnes and rallhe foly of Aulus: he sent vnto hym embassadours as if he were aferde: by dyssimulatyon to requyre of hym peace. And in ỹ meane tyme ỹ same Jugurth ledde his army amonge hylles and wodes fayning as yf he fledde from Aulus forȝede. Aulus vnderstandyng this/ parsued and folowed hym more egarly: and hastely: without adupsment/ order/ or ꝓuycion. Whan Jugurth sawe that he had attysed and drawen ỹ romayns into a place to fyght for his aduauntage: anone he assayled them and enbatayled with them fyersly: in which batayle he ouercame the romayns and putte them to flyght. On the nexte morne after Jugurth and Aulus came togyder in cõmunycatyon. And at last trewes was strykē betwene bothe parties in this maner: ⁊ by suche condyciõs: that all ỹ romayns shulde passe vnder a spere in signe of subiection/ and that they were ouercome: without more hurt. And afterwarde within ten dayes all shulde depart out of Numydy/ and so was it done. Whan tydyngꝫ herof were brought to Rome: all the cyte was troubled with drede and displeasure. After this shamefull trewes of Aulus ⁊ dysconfyture: and flyght of ỹ romayne army/ a noble man named Metellus was creat consull of Rome/ and by cõmen assent sende vnto Numydy agaynst Jugurth. This Metellus behaued hymselfe as a noble cappytayne and valyaunt warryour: and parceyuynge that the residue of the army which was escaped: was dyssolute and out of order/ by to moche lybertie. And by faute of the captayns which were before/ he first of all reduced ỹ sowdyours to good rule/ and order/ acordyng to the auncient ordynaũces of chyualry: and than in tyme cõuenyent: after his army was brought to order/ he assayled Jugurth fyersly. And after certayne sharpe/ and greuous batayles/ he dyminysshed his ryches/ his myght/ and power: ⁊ brought hym almost to extremyte. Aft this Metellus: one named Marius last of all was creat consull/ ⁊ the prouynce and warre of Numydy decreed and cõmytted to hym. This Marius anone pursued Jugurth in batayle moost sharply and fyersly of all other/ in somoche: that fynally he vtterly brought hym to extremyte: his frendes/ his ryches/ and power/ brought all to nought. And at cõclusyon by treason/ and betrayeng of one Bocchus/ kyng of ỹ Mauriens: Jugurth was delyuerd to the same Marius as prysoner: whõ he ledde bonude to Rome with glory ⁊ triumphe. At last this Jugurth was throwen into prison wher at cõclusyon/ he ended his myserable lyfe: in dolors and captyuite. This is ỹ argument ⁊ processe of all this hystory/

Jugurth. A.iii.

Romã redijt Aulo fratre suo pro ꝓtore relicto q̃ exercitui et prouincie prẽesset. Hic seu belli cõficiẽdi cupidꝰ: seu vt a rege pecuniam acciperet: mẽse Januario aspera hyemee exercitũ ex tabernaculis ī expeditionẽ vocat. Jugurtha cognita ꝑitia eius velut pauidus adeũ supplices legatos mittit. Ipse exercitũ ꝑ loca saltuosa veluti fugiẽs ducit. Aulus hoc magis insequitur. Vbi Jugurtha videt se traxisse Romanos in locũ sibi cõmodũ ad pugnãdũ preliũ cõmittit: ī quo Romanos fũdit ac fugat. Postera die quũ Aulus et Jugurtha in coloquiũ yenissẽt fedus iter eos factũ est ita vt oẽs Romani scolumes sub iugũ mitterẽtur: et post vt decem diebus extra Numidiam decederẽt Que quũ Romane nũciata essẽt dolor ac timor oẽs inuasit. Post Auli fedus et romani exercitus fugã Metello cõsuli prouicia Numidia ꝑ sortẽ euenit. Hic optimi ꝑatoris artibꝰ usus cũ exercitũ vicio supiorũ ducũ licẽtia solutũ accipisset: ad normã veteris disciplíne reduxit. At q̃ ita Jugurthã aggressus aliquot grauibꝰ ꝓliis opes eiꝰ attriuit. Postremo Caiꝰ Marꝰ post Metellũ cõsul

creat⁹ cū ei Numidia prouīcia decreta eſſet Iugurthā bello perſequēs: tādē illū ad extrema cōpulit et p proditionē ſibi traditū in triūphū duxit. Hoc eſt totius huius opis argumētū. Hic incipit paefatio huius opis p Caiſū Criſpū Saluſtiū hyſtoriographū clariſſimum.

¶ Falſo queriť de natura ſua genus humanum q⁹ etas imbecilla atque euī breuis forte pocius q̄ virtute regatur. Nam cōtra reputādo neq; maius aliud neq; preſtabilius inuenies: magisq; nature ī duſtriam hoīm q̄ vim aut tēpus deeſſe.

Sed dux atq; īperator vite mortaliū animus eſt qui vbi ad gloriam virtus via graſſať abū de polens/ potensq;/et clarus eſt: neq; fortuna eget. Quippe quę probitatē/ induſtriā/a liasq; bonas artes neq; dare neq; eripere cuī quā poteſt. Sed capt⁹ prauis cupidinibus ad īpertiā in voluptates corporis peſſūdat⁹ eſt pniſioſa libidine pauliſp vſus: vbi p fecordiā vires/etas/ īgeniū defluxere: nature īfirmitas accuſať/ ſuā quī q; culpam authores ad negotia trāſferūt. Q; ſi hominib⁹ bonarū rerum tanta cura eſſet: and cronycle: in which þ reder: of what ſo euer condicyon/ & degree he be: ſhall fynde both ꝓfyte/ & pleaſure: if he rede it attētyfly and w̄ good aduertens. And mooſt namely: gētylmen apt to attayne to glorious fame/ & honour/ by fayt of chyualry: ſhall fynd both pleſaunt/ & ꝓfytable paſtyme/ in redyng this hyſtory: vnto whoſe exāple/ ꝓfyte/ & pleaſure I chefely haue trāſlated þ ſame.

## ¶ The prologue of this preſent cronycle compyled in laten by the famous romayne Saluſt: and tranſlated into engliſſhe by Alexander Barcley preeſt.

MAnkynde wrongefully cōplayneth of his naturall dyſpoſicyon: ſayeng/ that his feble & fraylelyfe of ſhort cōtynuaūce of tyme/ is rather ruled by chaūces of fortune: than by ꝓuyſion of ſtrength/ or vertu. But yf man well cōſyder his naturall iclynatyon: cōtrary to ſuch oppnion: he ſhall fynde þ nothyng longynge to mānkynde/ may be foūde & ꝓoued greater/ better/ or more preēmynēt than his naturall inclynation: and þ his owne dylygēce and exercyſe/ rather fepleth hym/ than other myght or long cōtynuaūce of lyfe tyme. But in this oppnion to iuge indyfferently: let man vnderſtande þ the mynde is ordaynd/ gyde/ ruler/ & captayne of mānes lyfe: which mynde: whan it valyantly intēdeth to attayne/ to worſhyp/ & dygnyte/ by way of vertu: it is excellēt ynough/ myghty/ and clere of it ſelfe: ſo þ it nedeth nat to force of fortune/ nor to care for her vncertayne gyftes: but to dyſpoſe her/ as nat able to gyue to any man honeſty/ dylygence/ or other good/ and vertuous exercyſes: nor able to depryue man agayne of þ ſame gyftes: after he hath obtayned þ ſame. But on þ other part if this mynde of mā taken/ & blynded w̄ froward pleſures be ſubdued vnto ſlouthe & bodely luſtes: after it hath exercyſed & occuppyed ſuch ieopdous pleſure by a lytell ſeaſon: and after þ by cowardous ſlouth/ both þ ſtrength þ tyme/ and þ wyt ar vanyſched away/ & decayed: than anone þ infyrmite: & febylnes of nature is accuſed/ & put in blame. And thus/ all ſuch ſlouthfull doers trāſpoſe & lay away þ faute which in thē ſelfe is culpable/ vnto þ dyfficulte of ſuch beſynelles as they haue omytted by neglygence. But yf it were ſo: þ men had as great cure/ & affectyon of thyngꝭ good/ and ꝓfytable: as they haue deſyre/ & pleaſure in ſeyng & folowyng thyngꝭ cōtrary vnto thē and nothyng ꝓfitable

pe & alſo moch pylous & hurtfull: than ſhulde nat they be moze ru
led by ꝑ chaũces of foztune/ thã they ſhulde rule ꝑ ſayd chaũces.
And thus ſhulde they attayne/ & prꝛocede vnto ſo great excellẽce:
that where they be moztall of nature they ſhuld be made imoztal
by glozy & renowmed fame. Foꝛ i lyke wyſe as man is cõpoſed &
made of .ii. thynges( that is to ſay of ꝑ body & ſoule) right ſo all
thyngꝭ/all beſynelles/ & exercyſes/to mãkynde belongyng/folo
weth ſome ꝑ nature of the body: to decay bꝛefely & to be moztall:
as it is/ ſome other folowe ꝑ nature of theſoule/ to be eternall/ &
imoztall:as it is. Which thing foꝛther to ꝓue by exãple: we dayly
ſe: ꝑ the goodly beauty of ꝑ vyſage/ & ſhape of mãkynde/great a
bundaũce of ryches/ & alſo the ſtrength of ꝑ body/ with all other
ſuch thynges/and ſẽblable decayeth/ & vanyſſheth away within
ſhoꝛt tyme. But cõtrarely ꝑ excellent/ & woꝛthy actes: belongyng
to mãnes wyt: be imoztall & euerlaſtyng: as ꝑ ſoule is imoztall.
And finally ilyk wyſe as ꝑ begynnyng of ꝑ gyftes coꝛpall/oꝛ na
turall/ & of the gyftes of foꝛtune is caduke/ vayne & vncertayn:
ryght ſo is ꝑ ende of ꝑ ſame mutable & tranſytoꝛy. And all thyn
ges which be boꝛne & ſpꝛynging: agayne decayeth/ & appꝛocheth
to deth: and whan theſe ſame be growen & encreaſed to the hegth
of their perfectyon: agayne they begyn to decay and cõſume by
age and debylyte. But the mynde and ſoule beynge incoꝛrupt/
eternall/ and gouernoure of mankynde/ ruleth and weldeth al
thynges: but it ſelfe cane nat be byolẽtly ruled noꝛ compelled: by
any thyng erthly/cõſyderyng the frewyll whiche it optayneth of
his creatour. Foꝛ which conſyderacion ꝑ frowarde iniquyte of
them is moze to be marueyled: which ſubdued to the ioyes & ple
aſures of the body/ paſſe foꝛthe the tyme of theyꝛ lyfe/ in carnall
luſtes/ and ydelnes. But towchyng their wyt (which is the beſt
gyft and gretteſt treaſure graũted to mankynde) that ſuffre thei
to ſlomber and to ſlepe without exercyſe/in ſlouth and ydelnes:
whoſe dulnes ſurely is ſomoche moze to be reuyled: namely ſyth
ſo many and dyuers noble exercyſes & occupatyons of the mynde
be: by whom mooſt clere nobles/and fame vndefyled may be op
tayned. But of ſuche dyuers exercyſes concernynge the mynde
ſome ar better refuſed: than prꝛocured in troublous tymes and in
quyet. And namely in this tyme turbulent/ and ſeaſon vnquyet:
great offyces/ loꝛdſhyppes/ rowmes to commaunde & rule: and
bꝛefely to ſpeke. All maner cure cõcernyng ꝑ admynyſtracion of
thynges appartaynyng to the cõmen wayle: ſemeth vnto me nat
at all to be couyted oꝛ deſyꝛed of any wyſe man. Foꝛ neyther is
honoure gyuen vnto vertue/ as condygne rewarde and woꝛthy
quãto ſtudio aliena ni
hil proſitura: multũq;
etiã periculoſa petũt:
neq; magis regerent ca
ſibus q̃ regerent caſus
et eo magnitudinis
procederent: vbi pro
mortalib⁹ gꝛia eterni
fierent. Nã vti genus
humanũ cõpoſitũ ex
corpore et aia eſt: ita
res cũcte: ſtudiaq; oia:
alia corporis/alia ani
mi naturã ſequũtur.
Jgit̃ ꝑclara facies/ma
gne diuitie/ad hoc vis
corporis et alia huiuſ
modi oia breui dilabũ
tur. At ingenij egregi
a facinora: ſicuti aia i
mortalia ſunt. Poſt re
mo corporis et fortu
ne bonorũ vt initiũ ſic
finis eſt.
Omniaq; orta occidũt
et aucta ſeneſcũt.
Animus incorruptus/
eternus/ rector huma
ni generis: agit atq; ha
bet omnia neque ipſe
habet. Quo magis pra
uitas eorũ eſt admirãda: qui corporis dedi
ti gaudijs ꝑ luxũ et ig
nauiã etatẽ agũt. Ce
terum ingeniũ( quo ne
q; meli⁹ neq; ãplius eſt
i natura mortaliũ) in
cultu atq; ſecordia tor
peſcere ſinũt ꝑſerti cũ
tã multe varieq; artes
animi ſit: quib⁹ ſũma
claritudo paratur.
Vetũ ex his magiſtra
tus/et iperia poſtremo
oĩs cura rerũ publica
rũ minime mihi hac tẽ
peſtate cupiẽda videt.
qñ neq; virtuti honos

datur: neq; illi quibus p fraudē ius fuit. Vti que eo magis tui aut honesti sunt. Nam si quidem regere patriā aut parētes/ quamq; et possis: et delicta corri gas: tamē importunū est: quū presertim oēs rerum mutationes: ce dem/ fugam/ aliaq; hostilia portendant.

Frustra autē niti: neq; aliud (se fatigando) ni si odiū querere: extreme dementie est. Nisi forte quē inhonesta et pniciosa libido tenet: decus atq; libertatem gratificari suā. Cēterū ex alijs negocijs q̄ ingenio exercētur: inprimis magno vsui est memoria rerū gestarū: cuius de virtute (quia multi dixere) puto pretereūdū: sil' ne p insolenciā quis existimet studiū meum laudādo extollere. At cōtra ego credo fore: qui (qui a decreui procul a repetatē ægere) tāto/ tāq; vtili labori meo: nomē inertię imponāt. Certe quibus maxima industria videt salutare plebē: et cōuiuijs gratiam querere.

Qui si reputauerīt et in quibus ego temporibus magistratus adept⁹ sū: et quales viri assequi nequiuerīt: et quæ genera hominum postea in senatum puenerint: profecto existimabunt me magis metherto belongyng nother suche as haue goten turyd̄ictyon & honour/ by fraude & vnlaufull meanes (in lyke case) can nat be more sure nor more honest/ by meane of such honour so vnryghtwysly obtayned. For certenly a man to vnle his coūtrey & kynred by mpght & vyolence: all if he haue power so to do/ & also though he ryght wysly correct ꝑ crymes of trāsgressours/ & mysdoers. Neuertheles: so to do it is vnbehouefull & vnerpedyent. And often at cōclusyon more pylous & daūgerous: than it is sure or pfytable/ and ꝑ namely/ syth all mutacions of thynges/ and chaūges of gouernours pretend & threten slaughter of some: of some exyle/ or wylfull flyght/ impzisonmēt with otherlyke cruelties more longyng to ennempes of a cōmen wayle than to defēders of ꝑ same. Than forthermore: a man to labour to ꝑ vttermast of his powet/ & all in vayne. For in werpeng hymselfe to gete nought els but euyl wyll or hatred: it is a poynt of ertrem & vtter madnes except pchaunce it be suche one which hath a dyshoneſt/ a foule & perylous pleasure to cast away for nought his owne worshyppe and lybertie for pleasure of a fewe mpghty men vsurpers of dominion & lordshyp. But among all other besynesses which ar ercysed by mānes wyt the redyng of hystories & the reducyng of ꝑ same to memory: is moche more necessary & pfitable to all degrees beryng rule of a cōmē wele/ but most namely vnto pzices. Of power/ profet/ & cōmodyte wherof: I purpose at this tyme to passe ouer with sylence/ bycause many other authours haue wzyten of ꝑ same before my tyme. And also ꝑ no man shulde suppose my selfe by pzide/ or isolēce: to bost myne owne study vaynly laudyng ꝑ same. But moch cōtrary I beleue rather ꝑ some enuyus malignars shalbe herafter which shall obiect & ascribe a name of slouth and neglygēce to this my labour. How great & profitable so euer it be: and ꝑ bycause I haue determined to lede my lyfe so lytarely: ferre frō medlynge with ꝑ cōmen wayle. Certaynly (as I suppose) they onely shall impute and ascrybe such name to me and to this my laboure: whiche thynketh it a mooſt great & syngular craft or practysed wysdome to wynne benyuolence/ by salutyng the cōmen people/ and by dyssimulate reuerence done to euery man passyng by them/ or els to gete fauour by festyng and flaterynge the commenty. Whiche enuyous maligners: yf they wolde cōsyder both in what maner seasons and in what ieopardous tymes I haue obtayned offices and rowmes of auctozite & what men wold gladly/ and yet myght nat obtayne suche rowmes. Moreouer yf they call to mynde what maner of men afterwarde came into the order of senatours. For certayne if my wyl-

lers conſyder indifferētly theſe pʳemyſſes: than ſhall they thinke that J haue chaunged the purpoſe of my mynde: moʳe foʳ cauſe reaſonable: and by good aduyſement/ than foʳ ſlouthe ⁊ cowardyſe and they ſhall fynde that moʳe pfet ſhall come to the cōmen wayle by this my ſtudy (which they count but ydelnes and tyme myſſpent) than of the labour and beſynes which other men take vpon them fayntly and inuſtly admyniſtryng the cōmen wele. And they ſhall fynde ỹ my wʳityngeſhall pʳoue it ſelfe moʳe laudable and pʳofytable to the cōmente: thā their vndyſcrete gouernaunce. Foʳ often haue J herde of the famous pʳinces Quintus Maximus/ ⁊ Publius Scipio/ and beſyde theſe of many other right famous ⁊ woʳthy men of the cytie of Rome: which pʳinces whan they beheldeỹ ymages of their foʳefathers made of ſtone/ of waxe/ oʳ of metall/ and erect into hye trowmes in a memoʳiall of the valyaunt and magnifycent actes by thē done: foʳ the commen wele: the ſayd pʳinces in aduyſyng ſuche ymages were wōt to ſay vnto ſuche as ſtode nere by them: that their myndes were gretly kyndeled to vertue and nobles in contemplyng of ỹ ſame. The caſe is playne: ỹ ſuche fygures of metall/ ſtone oʳ wax had nat ſuche operatyon noʳ myght within them ſelfe. But ſuch high courage and flame was kyndeled/ and increaſe/ in the hardy hertes of ſuch noble men/ ⁊ valyant warryous by remēbʳaūce of the glorʳyous dedes of their foʳefathers in their lyfe tyme done ⁊ reprẽſented to their memoʳy by ſuch ymages: in ſomoche that this flame kyndled in their hertes to vertu coude neuer be ſlaked noʳ ſacyate in thē: tyll tyme that they were equall with their foʳefathers in vertu/ fame/ and glorʳy. Than how moch moʳe ought ỹ clere dyſcripcyō of hyſtoʳes to kyndell vnto boldnes/ and vertu/ the myndes of noble men by redyng of the ſame. But moche cōtrary/ if we aduert the woʳlde as it is nowe/ among all men whiche lyue/ and conforme themſelfe to the maners vſed nowe adayes/ where ſhall we fynde one: but ỹ dare ſtryue ⁊ contende with their foʳefathers to ouercome them/ other in couetyſe/ ⁊ ſuperfluous riches/ oʳ els inprodygalyte/ ⁊ waſtfull ẽpences. And nat in honeſt and laudable lyfe/ good exercecyces/ and dyligence. And moʳeouer gentylmen of ỹ firſt heed which were wont to pʳeuent auncyent noblemen ⁊ aſcende vnto vertu/ ⁊ nobles/ by vertuous maners: ſuche labour nowe is lorʳdſhyp/ honour/ ⁊ authoʳite/ by fraude/ ⁊ falſhode: rather than by very vertu: oʳ good meanes ⁊ laudable. After ſuche maner as yͤ the offyce of a hye Juge/ of a Treſourer/ a Cōſull/ a Pʳouoſt/ and all ſuch other great offyces were noble and excellent of the ſelfe. And nat in maner as yͤ ſuch

rito q̄ ignauia iudiciū animi mei mutauiſſet magiſq; cōmodū ex ocio meo q̄ ex aliorū negociis reipublice venturum.

Nam ſepe audiui Quintum Maximū/ Publiū Scipionē: preterea ciuitatis noſtre preclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere/ quū imagines maiorū tuerētur vehemētiſſime ſibi animū ad virtutē accendi. Scilecet non cerā illā neq; figurā tantam vim in ſeſe habere ſed memoria rerū geſtarū eā flāmam egregiis viris in pectore creſcere: neq; prius ſedari; q̄ virt⁹ eorū famam atq; gloriam adequauerit.

Atqui cōtra quis olim eſt his morbis qui nō de deuictis/ et ſuperib⁹ non probitate/ neq; induſtria: cum maioribꝰ ſuis contendat.

Etiam homines noui qui p virtutē ſoliti erant nobilitatē anteuenire: furti: et per latrocinia poti⁹ quā ex bonis artib⁹ ad iperia et honores nitūtur.

Peride quasi pretura et cõsulatus atq; oia a illa huiusmodi: p se ipsa clara et magnifica sint; ac nõ pinde habeant; vt eorũ: qui ea sustinent virtus est.

offyces shulde be counted of worthynes and dygnite: after as the vertue/ and honour is: of such as rule in the same offyces and hy rowmes. But playnly affirmyng the treuth: the man maketh ỹ offyce noble/ & worshypfull: yf his maners shyne by vertue. But yf his conuersacyon be cõtrary/ no offyce/ nor rowme/ can make hym noble/ nor worshypfull. But this omyttynge I haue proceded in this prologue with ouer ferre circũstaunce/ and also with somwhat to moche lybertie of large wordes: more than in a preface is requisite: for ỹ it reweth and pyteth me of these tedyous maners of this oure cytie of Rhome. But nowe wyll I come to my mater purposed and first interpryse begone.

Verũ ego liberius alti usq; processi dũ me ciuitatis piget; tedetq;. Nunc ad inceptum opus redeo.

## ¶Of what mater Salust intendeth to treat in pro ces of this boke/ and what causes moueth hym of suche mater to write. ¶The fyrst chapter.

BEllum scripturus sum: quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit.

IN this warke I purpose to wryte of the bataple/ which the Romayns had and executed agaynst the tyranne Jugurth wrongfully vsurpynge the name of a kynge/ ouer the lande of Numydy. Many causes moueth me by wrytynge to cõmende this bataple to perpetuall memory. First for that the same was faughten at many tymes with great multytude of mẽ on eyther partie with moche cruell murdre and daryable victory: the Romayns somtyme/ somtyme the Jugurthyns preuayling in victory. Forthermore bycause that first at this bataple: and frõ thens forwarde the cõmen people of Rome matched with the princes/ and states resistynge their pride. For where as before this tyme the noble men of Rome oppressed and subdued the cõmens with vnreasonable rygoure/ the cõmens elect one named Marius a man of balle byrth to be cõsull of Rome and captayne in this bataple: whiche after he had obtayned victory ouer Jugurth with great glory/ triumphe/ and fauour of the cõmetie he supported them in such wyse agaynst the noble men: ỹ of the same rose a cruple bataple & greuous dyscorde bytwene the noble men and cõmens of Rome: Marius mayntenyng the cõmens partie/ & Sil la sustenyng ỹ partie of the noble men. In somoch ỹ fynally bytwene these two pties & captayns of ỹ same was foughten an vnkynde/ vnnatural/ & cruell batell: to ỹ greuous ruyne of ỹ Romayne empyre & subuercyon of the cõmen wayle. Which cõtencion &

Primum quod magnũ et atrox variaq; victoria fuit.

Deinde: quia superbie nobilitatis tũ primũ obuiatum est.

Que contentio diuina

barpaunce confounded bothe the lawes of god and man/ and by the ſame were all good ordynaunces dyſordred. And this ſame furyous debate and folye proceded at laſt to ſo vnreſonable madneſſe and execrable fury that it neuer deſyſted: nor this baryaūce and dyſcencion betwene the noble men and commens neuer ceaſed: tyll tyme that cruell and mortall batayle foughten betwene bothe parties and tyll tyme that alſo dyſtructyon of the lande of Italy cōpelled both parties at laſt to conſyder theyr owne blynd folye and cruell furor: & ſo finally to myttigate & fynyſſhe their debate & vnreaſonable dyſſencion. But fyrſt or I begyn to wryte of this batell I ſhall repeat & declare a fewe thingꝭ done before this war began: to thētent ꝑ all thyngꝭ mooſt chefe/ worthy & expedient to be knowen may be more euydēt/ open/ & clere/ to ꝑ readers.

cuncta et humana permiſcuit: eoq; vecordię proceſſit; vt ſtudiis ciuilibus: bellum: atque vaſtitas Italię finem faceret.

Sed priuſq; huiuſcemodi initium expediam: pauca ſupra repetam: quo ad cognoſcendum oia illuſtria magis magisq; in aperto ſint.

## Chow the kyng Maſſinyſſa came into the fauour of the Romayns/ and how the lande of Numydy was commytted vnto hym. The ſeconde chapter.

The Romayns had thre notable and famous batayls agaynſt the Carthaginēces/ in which the ſame Romayns had great dammage. Howbeit inconcluſyon of euery batayle they wanne victory of theyr enemyes: in the ſeconde of theſe batayles what tyme Hanyball duke and captayne of the Carthaginences waſted the welth and richeſ of Italy more than any other ennemy had euer done before/ after the Romayns begañe to haue any great name and to delate their dominion: A famous prince named Maſſiniſſa kynge of the lande of Numydy was receyued into frendſhyppe and fauour of the Romyns: by one Publius Scipio captayne of the ſayd Romayns/ which Scipio afterwarde for his manhode was named Scipio Affrycan/ bycauſe he ouercame & ſubdued the lande of Affryke. This Maſſiniſſa ſo receyued into fauour of the Romayns in the forſayd batayle dyd many noble and famous actes of chyualry: with hygh valyantyſe & corage. For which dedes: after the Romayns had ouercome ꝑ Carthagynencis & their cyte: and after they had taken prſoner the kyng Sciphar/ which had in Affryke a worthy/ great/ & large empyre the people of Rome gaue frely vnto the ſame kynge Maſſiniſſa all ſuche cyties & landes as they had taken and wone in batayle. For which benefites ſo magnificēt & ample Maſſiniſſa cōtynued vnto thē in profitable & faythfull frendſhyp his life indurynge:

Bello punico Secūdo: quo dux Carthaginēſium Hānibal poſt magnitudinē nominis Romani Italię opes maxime attriuerat.

Maſſiniſſa rex Numidarū in amicitiam receptus a publio Scipione (cui poſtea Affricano cognomē ex virtute fuit) multa/et p̄clara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quę victis Carthaginēſibus et capto Sciphace (cuius i Affrica magnū atq; latum imperiū valuit) populus Romanus quaſcunq; vrbes et agros manu ceperat regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Maſſiniſſę bona atq; honeſta nobis pmāſit. Sed imperii vtęq; eius finis idē fuit

Deinde Micipſa filius regnum ſolus obtinuit Manaſtabale et Galuſſa fratribus morbo abſumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempſalem ex ſe genuit: Iugurthā q̄ filiū Manaſtabalis quē Maſſiuiſſa (quo ortus ex cōcubina erat) priuatū reliquerat: eodem cultu quo liberos ſuos domi habuit.

Qui vbi primū adoleuit pollēs viribus/decora facie/ ſed multo maximo ingenio validus: non ſe luxui/neq; inertię cortūpendum dedit: ſed vti mos illius eſt gētis: equitare/ iaculari/ curſu cum ęqualib⁹ certare/ et cū gloria ante oēs iret: oībus tamē charus eſſe: ab hoc pleraq; tempora in venādo agere. Leonem atq; alias feras primus/ aut in primis ferire: plurimū facere: et minimum de ſe ipſe loqui. Quibus rebus Micipſa tāetſi in initio letus fuerat existimans virtutem Iugurthę regno ſuo glorię affore: tamē poſtq̄ hominē adholoſcentē exacta ętate ſua: et pauis liberis/magis: magisq; creſcere intelligit vehemēter eo negocio pmotus in animo multa voluebat.

Terrebat eum natura

but at laſt his lyfe ended: and the welth of his empyre decayed alſo with hym. This kynge departyng left behynde hym thre ſonnes: whoſe names were/ Micipſa/ Manaſtaball/ and Galuſſa: of whome Micipſa ſucceded his father and alone obtayned the kyngdome: after that his other two brethern Manaſtaball/ and Galuſſa were departed frome this lyfe by ſickeneſſe. This Micipſa had two ſonnes named Adherball/ & Hiempſall. But Manaſtaball his brother whiche departed (as ſayde is) left behynde hym one ſonne nat laufully borne: but a baſtarde/ begoten of his concubyne: wherfore departyng he left hym oꝛbate without lāde oꝛ lyuelode. This cōſydering Micipſa ſuffred hym nat to faute noꝛ decay: but foꝛaſmoche as he was his brothers ſone: receyued hym into his court/ and hym cheryſſhed in lyke wyſe as he dyde his owne ſonnes/ Adherball/ and Hiempſall. This Jugurth after ꝑ he was a lytell growen vp to age: was myghty in ſtrength comely/ and fayꝛe of face: but mooſt of all excellent of wyt & wyſdome. Noꝛ he gaue nat hym ſelfe to be coꝛrupt with luſt noꝛ incrafty ſlouthe: but as is the cuſtome and maner of the people of Numidy/ hymſelfe he exercyſed ſomtyme in rydinge: ſomtyme in caſtynge the dart/ and ſomtyme in ronnynge and wreſtlynge with his companyons of lyke age. And nat withſtandynge that in laude and pꝛayſe he paſſed all his perys: yet none inuyed hym but he was derely beloued/ cheryſſhed/ and lauded of all men. Moꝛeouer he paſſed moche of his tyme in huntyng of wylde beſtes which in ꝑ lande habounded: he was the firſt/ oꝛ one among the firſt whiche durſt aſſayle and ſtryke the lyon/ and other cruell and wylde beeſtes: he dyde moche: and lytell he ſayd oꝛ boſted of hymſelfe. Foꝛ ſuche demeanour his vncle Micipſa at fyꝛſt begynnynge was gladde and ioyefull: ſuppoſyng that in tyme to come ꝑ manly behauour and ſtrength of Jugurth ſhuld be gloꝛy & honoure to all his kyngdom. But afterwarde in ꝓceſſe of tyme whā he cōſydꝛed and vnderſtode his lyfe appꝛochyng faſt to ende his naturall ſonnes lytell/ yong/ & vnexpert. And this yong man Jugurth in honour and fauour dayly encreaſynge moꝛe & moꝛe he reuolued many thynges in mynde greatly moued with ſuche ſolycitude and beſyneſſe. Foꝛthermoꝛe he conſydꝛed that all men of kynde be naturally diſpoſed and inclyned to deſyꝛe/ to rule/ and cōmaunde by loꝛdeſhyppe: rather than to be ruled and ſubiect. And how man is pꝛone and hedlynge inclyned to fulfyll the deſyers of his mynde dꝛedyng no daungers: noꝛ ſuſpectyng no peryll/ whyle he is excecate by ambicion and deſyꝛe of loꝛdeſhyp. Moꝛeouer aduyſing the opoꝛtunyte of his owne age/ and of the

age of

age of his chyldren which forsomuch were nat able to resyst any power or violence: which opportunyte is wõt to be nat small confort/ audacyte and courage nat onely to bolde hertes/ but also to meane men and cowardes intendyng to conspyre agaynst their princes in hope of pray and promocyons. Such cõsyderatyons feared sore the mynde of Micipsa/ besyde these his drede and dolour was more augmented: whan he beheld the fauour & hertes of all his subgettes of the lande of Numidy vtterly kyndled agaynst Jugurth: wherfore to put to deth the same Jugurth by any gyle (as his purpose was to do) he dradd moost of all: dowtyng lest therof myght succede bytwene hym and his subgettes some insurrexion or batayle. Micipsa cõpased about on euery syde with these difficulties was sore troubled with ỹ same. And whan he sawe ỹ nother by strẽgth nor begyle he myght dystroy a man so well beloued of the cõmẽs as was Jugurth: at last he deuysed an other way to ryd hym: and that without daunger or suspecyon wherfore aduertyng that he was redy of hande to stryke/ auenterous/ and moche desyrous of honoure/ and laude of chyualry. Micipsa concluded with hymselfe to obiect hym to daunger and peryll of warre: and by that meane to assay the fortune of batayle.

NOwe at the same season the romayns warred agaynst a cyte of Hyspayne named Numãce: vnto which warre dyuers kynges to them associate sent vnto them socours agaynst the same cyte. Amonge whom Micipsa also sent vnto them into socours a fayre company of horsmen and fotemẽ: ouer whom he made Jugurth captayne: and sent hym forth with them into Hyspayne/ trustyng that there he lightly shulde be ouerthrowen and slayne in batayle: other in fleyng his manhod and strength/ or els by fyersnes and cruelty of his ennemyes. But this thyng fortuned moche contrary to his opynion. For Jugurth was of mynde and courage valyaunt and bolde/ and of wytte quicke and redy so that after he had parceyued the dysposycion and maners of Publius Scipio: whiche at ỹ tyme was captayne of the romayns/ and whan he had consydred also the maners of his ennemyes/ he behaued hymselfe in suche wyse with moche labour/ besynes/ and cure: in obeyng his captayne with so good maner: & often tymes countryng his ennemyes without drede of pyll. In so moche that within short tyme he came to so great fame and worshyppe/ that vnto ỹ romayns he was marueylous dere and well beloued/ and of the Numantynes dradde as deth: and certaynly among the chemortaliũ auida imperij: et preceps ad explẽdam animi cupidinem.

Pæterea oportunitas fuit liberorum ętatis quę eriã mediocres viros: ipe prede: trahfuersos agit. Adhoc studia Numidiarũ in Jugurthã accensa: ex quib⁹ si salẽ virũ doctis iterfecisset nequa seditio/ aut bellũ oriretur anxius erat. His difficultatib⁹ circũuent⁹: vbi vidit neq; p vim/ neq; p insidias/ opprimi posse hominẽ tam acceptũ populari bus: q erat Jugurtha manu prõptus: et appẽtens glorie militaris: statuit eũ obiectare periculis: et eo modo fortunã tẽtare.

Igitur bello Numãtino Micipsa quũ populo romano equitũ/ atq; peditũ auxilia mitteret: sperãs vel ostẽdendo virtutẽ: vt hostiũ seuitia: facile eũ occasurũ: prefecit Numidis: quos in Hispaniam mittebat.

Sed ea res lõge aliter ac ratus erat euenit. Nam Jugurtha (vt erat ipe gri atq; acri ingenio) Vbi naturam publij Scipionis: qui tũ Romanor⁹ impator erat: et mores hostiũ cognouit: mlto labore/ multaq; cura: preterea modestissime parẽdo: sepe obuiam eũdo periculis: in tã claritudinẽ breui puenerat vt nostris vehemẽter charus: Numantinis maxime terrori esset. At

fane(quod deficillimū ē) i primis et plio strenuis erat: et bonꝰ cōsilio: quorum alterū ex prouidēti a timorē: alterū ex audacia temeritatem plerumque afferre solet.

Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas p Iugurthā agere: in amicis habere: magis magisq; eum indies amplecti. Quippe cuius cōsiliū: neque inceptum vllum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificētia animi et ingenii solertia quibus rebus Iugurtha multos ex Romanis sibi familiari amicitia cōiunxerat. Ea tēpestate in exercitu nostro fuere q̄plures noui/ atq; nobiles/ quibꝰ diuitie bono/ atq; honesto/ pociores erant: factiosi domi: potētes apud socios: clari magis quā honesti: qui Iugurthę nō mediocrem animū pollicitādo accendebant. Si Micipsa rex occidisset: fore vt solus imperio Numidię potiretur. In ipso maximam virtutē: Rome omnia venalia esse.

¶ Sed postquā Numantia deleta Publiꝰ Scipio dimittere auxilia: et ipse reuerti domum decreuit: donatū/ atq; laudatū

fyll he was worthy and valyaunt in batayle: and also good of counsell/ of wysdome pregnaunt and circumspect. which two thynges be moche herde to be in one man bothe togyder: for wysdome is often wont to make men aferde and to dryede many parels bycause of prouydence. But boldnes and audacyte causeth men to be callde ☞ folehardy/ bycause of haut courage But his wysdome dyrected his strength/ ☞ his strength was obedyent to wysdome. Wherfore Scipio the captayne dyd almost euery ieopardous and weyghty thyng by hand ☞ counsell of Jugurth: hym countyng amonge his chefe frendes and dayly he cherysshed hym more and more and no marueyle/ for there was no coūsell/ no interpryse/ nor begon purpose of Jugurth which was frustrate or in dayne/ but all came to good effect. Besyde these gyftes aboue sayd he was curtes of mynd and lyberall/ and of his wyt right dyscrete ☞ prudēt: by which gyftes he adnexed vnto hym many of the romayns in familyer frendshyp. At that same season in the army of Rome were eyght many newe gentylmen: and also auncyent gentylmen/ whiche set more by ryches than goodnes or honeste. At home in Rome were they sowers of dyscorde and debatefull/ myghty of fame amonge the frendes of the romayns. And more famous by worshyppe and rowme/ than by honest cōuersatyon These kyndled the mynde of Jugurth nat a lytell prompsyng often tymes and sayeng vnto hym to set his courage on fyre: that yf the kyng Micipsa dyscessed the tyme shulde come that Jugurth alone shulde enioye the hole kyngdome of Numidy without any partyner. For in hym (they said) was great vertue/ great manhode/ strength/ and audacyte with wysdome/ able to gouerne suche a kyngdome: and nothynge was so inust ☞ false but that might be tustyfied at Rome for golde/ ☞ all thynges were there to be solde by couetyse of noble men.

## ¶ How Publyus Scipio counselled Jugurth at his departynge after the cyte of Numance was dystroyed. ¶ The thyrde chapter.

THus cōtynued Jugurth in the romayns army in Hilspayne with great fauour of the romayns/ and namely of Scipio the captayne: tyll at last the army of Rome had distroyed the sayd cyte of Numance. Than Publyus Scipio cōclu-

ded to retourne home agayne to Rome: and to cõgye and lycence ſuche ſocours as were ſent vnto hym from other kyngꝭ: among all other he called Jugurth vnto hym: and before the multytude of all the army aſſembled: lauded and cõmended hym magnyficently recitynge his glorious actes and manly dedes of chyualry. And than worthely and richely rewarded hym for his labours. This done: he cõueyed hym into the captayns tent: and there ſecretely warned hym that he ſhulde cõtynu and worſhyppe the frendſhyppe of ỹ people of Rome rather hole togyder and cõmenly/ than priuatly leanyng to any ſynguler rulers. Moreouer addynge theſe monycions: that he ſhulde nat rather reward and be lyberall to a fewe priuately: than to a hole cõmente. For it is a paryllous thynge to bye that: of a fewe perſons: which belongeth vnto many in commen. If he wolde perſeuer and contynue in ſo noble condycions as he had begõn: he ſhulde ſhortly come to great honour/ glory/ and dygnite royall/ more than he wolde deſyre. But yf he wolde procede and labour to aſcende ouer haſtely to honour than ſhulde both he and his ryches fall heedlyng to ruyne and decay: after Scipio had layd theſe wordes with ſuch lyke: he lycenſed Jugurth to depart/ and ſent hym vnto his vncle Micipſa agayne into ỹ lande of Numydy with letters dyrect vnto the ſame kyng Micipſa: of which letters the tenure and ſẽtence hereafter enſueth: and was ſuche.

magnifice pro concione Iugurthã in pretoriũ adduxit: ibiq; ſecreto monuit: vt potiꝰ publice/ q̃ priuati amicitiam populi Romani coleret. Nec aliquibꝰ largiri conſueſceret. Periculoſe a paucis emi: quod multorũ eſſet.

Si permanere vellet i ſuis artibꝰ: vltro et illi gloriam/ et regnũ venturũ: Sin properantius pergeret ſuã pecuniã et ipſum precipitẽ caſurum.
Sic locutus: cum literis eũ (quas Micipſe redderet) dimiſit.
Earũ ſentẽtia hec erat.

## ¶ The ſentẽce of the letter dyrect from Publius Scipio captayne of the romayne army in Hiſpayne vnto Micipſa kynge of Numydy.

### ¶ The fourthe chapter.

PUblius Scipio captayne of the romayns army in Hiſpayne ſendeth helth and ſalutacyon to Micipſa kynge of Numydy frende and felowe of the empyre of Rome. The vertue/ ſtrength/ and noblenes/ of your neuewe Jugurth whom ye ſent vnto our ſocours hath ben proued in this batayle of Numance/ ferre excellent aboue any other warryour of our retynue which thynge I knowe for certayne is to your great pleaſure & gladnes. For his worthy merytes he is right dere and well beloued vnto vs. And we ſhall deuoyr vs to the

¶ Iugurthę tui in bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit.

Quam tẽ tibi certe gaudio eſſe ſcio. Nobis ob

merita ſua charus eſt: vt idem Senatui et populo Romano ſit: ſumma ope nitimur.

Tibi quidē pro nr̄a amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque auo ſuo Maſſiniſſa.

beſt of our power that he may be lyke dere and well beloued of all the ſenatours & people of Rome. I am ſurely right ioye full on your behalfe of this your treaſoure Jugurth: thaunc-yent ampte bytwene you and me: byndeth me to be gladde of this your commodyte. For certaynely lo here haue ye a man of Jugurth worthy to dyſcende of ſuche noble ſtocke as ye ar and as his granfather Maſſiniſſa was in his dayes: whome he foloweth in all poyntes of vertue/ and magnanimyte.

## Chow the kyng Micipſa adopted Jugurth vnto his ſonne. The fyfte chapter.

Igitur rex vbi ea que fama acceperat: ex literis imperatoris eſſe ita cognouit: tum virtute: tū gratia viri premotus flexit animum ſuum.

With theſe letters of Scipio Jugurth retourned into Numydy vnto his vncle Micipſa: where he was worthely ayd ioyefully receyued of the commentie. But after that the kynge Micipſa vnderſtode by theſe letters of commendatyon of the captayne Scipio: that ꝑ valyaunt and noble actes of Jugurth were trewe: which longe before he had harde by report of the commen fame: than what for ꝑ nobles of Jugurth and fauoure bothe of his dedes and commendatyon of Scipio he moued his mynde chaunged from his forſayd purpoſe/ and nat forther intended to oppres Jugurth by malyce nor enuy. But concluded to attempt to ouercome hym with benefites & kyndenes: to thentent: that he ſo ouercome ſhulde nat in tyme to come fynde in his hert for pyte to indammage hym nor his heyres. And ſoone after this purpoſe the ſame Micipſa adopted Jugurthe vnto his ſonne: and farthermore decreed and ordayned in his teſtament that Jugurth ſhulde be one of his heyres: and partener in poſſeſſyon of his kyngdome togyder with his two naturall ſonnes/ Adherball/ and Hiempſall.

Et Iugurtham beneficiis vincere aggreſſus eſt.

Statimq; eū adoptauit: et teſtamento pariter cū filijs heredem inſtituit.

But a fewe yeres after this ordynaūce Micipſa what by age/ what by ſykeneſſe/ drewe nere vnto his ende of lyfe/ and was conſumed: wherfore conſydring his dethe ſo faſt approchyng it is ſayd that he called Jugurth before hym: and than before many of his frendes and kynſmen: alſo in preſence of his two naturall ſonnes Adherball and Hiempſall he had with the ſame Jugurth ſuche wordes as hereafter inſue and folowe.

Sed ipſe paucos poſt annos morbo/ atque etate confectus: cum ſibi finē vite adeſſe intellegeret: coram amicis/ et cognatis: itemq; Adherbale et Hiempſale filijs dicitur huiuſcemodi verba cum Iugurtha habuiſſe.

## The exhortacyon which the kynge Micipſa a

lytell before his dethe had to Jugurth.

## ¶ The firſt chapter.

AI dere ſonne Jugurth I knowe it is nat out of your remembraunce: how after that ye hadde loſt your father my brother I charytably and louyngly receyued you yong & of tender age into my kyngdome: what tyme ye were without ryches/ without confort or ryches/ but very lykely to haue ben caſte away. This dyde I thynkynge that for theſe my benefytes and kyndneſſe I ſhulde nat be vnto you nat leſſe intyerly beloued thanne of myne owne naturall chyldren with my body begotten. For certaynly this my hope and truſt hath nat dyſceyued me. For why to ouerpaſſe and omytte your other great magnyficent and excellent dedes of you valyauntly done before: ſpecially nowe laſt of all: ye commynge from the warre of Numance/ haue greatly adourned and inhaunced to honoure and glory bothe of me and of this kyngdome of Numydy. And where as the romayns in fore tymes were frendes vnto vs: by your vertue/and manly actes haue eſtabliſſhed that ampyte: and of frendes made them moche more frendes. So that in Hiſpayne the name and glory of oure houſholde by your manhode is renouate and renewed. Thus finally: ye haue ouercome the enuy of oure ywyllers onely by your glorious actes/and valyaũt interpryſes: which is one of the mooſt hardyeſt thynges to be done amonge mankynde/ and of mooſt dyfficultie. Wherfore nowe my ſonne Jugurth: ſythe it is ſo: that nature hath nere concluded the ende of my lyfe: I admoneſt/charge/ and exhorte you by the fayth of this your ryght hande: and by the fayth and fidelyte whiche ye owe to this my kyngdome I obteſt and requyre you/ that ye wyll loue/mentayne/and cheryſſhe theſe my two ſonnes Adherball and Hiempſall: which of kynredde be nere to you/ and by my benefyte and kyndnes are bretherne vnto you. Forthermore I exhorte you that ye counte nat leſerre and more pleaſure to acquaynt and cõioyne vnto you forayne or ſtraungers/ thanne to retayne ſuche as be ioyened to you by naturall blode/ and kynredde. For neyther

¶ Parũ ego Iugurtha te amiſſo patre: ſine ſpe: ſine opibus: in meum regnum ſuſcepi: exiſi imãs non minus me tibi: q̃ liberis (ſi genuiſſem) ob beneficia charum fore.

Neque ea res falſum me habuit. Nam vt alia magna et egregia facta omittam: nouiſſime tu rediens Numancia meque regnumq; meum gloria decoraſti: tuaque virtute Romanos ex amicis amiciſſimos feciſti.

In Hiſpania nomẽ familie noſtre renouatum eſt: poſtremo (quod difficillimum inter mortales eſt) gloria inuidiam viciſti.

Nunc quoniam mihi natura finẽ vite facit: per hanc dexteram: p regni fidem moneo: obteſtorq; te: vti hos qui genere tibi propinqui beneficio meo fratres ſũt: charos habeas.
Neu malis alienos adiũgere: q̃ ſanguine coniunctos retinere.

Non exercitus/ neq; thesauri presidia regni sūt. Verum amici. quos neq; armis cogere: neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur.

is a great army of men nor habundance of treasours: ꝑ chefe socoures or defence of a kyngdome: but moche rather trusty and faythefull frendes: whome a manne canne neyther compell by force of armes: nor yet bye with golde nor syluer to parseuer in stedfast amyte: but they be optayned & kept/ by kyndneske good dedes: lybelyte and faythfulnesse. But among all frendes: who canne be more frendly and stedfast in amyte thā brother to brother. Certaynely none ought to be more louyng of naturall inclynatyon. Or what straunger shall ye fynde faythfull and trusty to you: if ye shewe your selfe ennemy to your owne kynsmen. For sothe if ye wyll contynue togyder honest good/ and louynge in agreable concorde betwene your selfe: thanne this kyngdome whiche I cōmytte and gyue vnto you shall contynue sure and stedfast: as it is nowe. But contrarily if ye be yll and dysagreynge amonge your selfe ye shall in shorte season make it right poore/ feble/ and incertayne. For by loue/ peace/ and concorde: small ryches/ small lordshyppes and generally all small thynges increase/ and multyplie: by dyscorde the grettest thynges of the worlde decay/ and fall vterly to ruyne. But you my sonne Jugurthe bycause ye passe these myne other two naturall sonnes in age and wysedome/ therfore it semeth you so moche more than them: to make suche wyse prouycion bothe for your selfe and for them also that nothynge happen otherwyse thanne well. For in euery stryffe and debate: how be it he which is myghtyer and rycher often sufferyth iniury. Neuertheless it semeth more that he dothe wronge thanne suffreth: bycause that he is more of power and myght thasie his feble aduersary. But ye my dere sonnes Adherball and Hiempsall se that ye worshyppe and loue this Jugurth your worthy vncle. And be ware that ye offende nor dysplease hym nat: but folowe his vertue/ and manly behauour. And do your deuoyr to the best of your power after his example behauynge your selfe/ so dyscretely/ and so wysely that it be nat hereafter repoyted by me that I haue takenne vnto me by adoptyon better chyldren thanne I haue begotten. This concluded the kyng Micipsa his wordes. Than how beit Jugurth well parceyued the kynges wordes but fayned and spoken agaynst his hert: if any other remedy myght haue ben founde. Neuertheles he answeredde benygnely for the tyme all

Non exercitus/ neq; thesauri presidia regni sūt. Verum amici. quos neq; armis cogere: neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur.

Quis autem amicitior q̄ frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem inuenies: si tuis hostis fueris?

Equidē ego vobis regnū trado firmum si boni eritis: sin mali imbecillū.

Nam cōcordia parue res crescunt discordia maxime dilabuntur.

Cæterum Iugurtha antehos te (quia etate et sapientia ptior es) ne aliter quid eueniat prouidere decet.

Nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est: etiam si accipit iniuriam tamē (quia plus potest) facere videtur.

Vos autem Adherbal et Hiempsal colite et obseruate hunc talem virum: imitamini virtutem: et enitemini: ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar: q̄ genuisse.

Ad ea Iugurtha tametsi regem ficta locutum intelligebat: et ipse longe aliter i animo agitabat

ythe thought and revoulued in his mynde moche otherwyse/ and contrary to his humble and mylde answere.

tamē pro tempore benigne respondit.

## How the kynge Micipsa departed frome this lyfe/ and of the fyrst cause of dyscorde bytwene Jugurth/ Adherball/ and Hiempsall. The.vii.chapter.

Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur.

NAt longe after the kyng Micipsa decessed whose dethe was dolourous and sore bewayled of all his subgetts: but most of all to his naturall sonnes it was to be lamented: and nat without great cause as ꝑ processe of this hystorie shall afterwarde declare. But after the kynges funerall exequyes were magnificently ended as apertayned to his state royall. The thre prynces that is to say Adherball/ Hiempsall/ and Jugurthe anone assembled them togyder to the intent to commen and treat of besynesses of the kyngdome cōcernynge partycion and separatyon of the same: and all other thynges cōuenyent. But whan they shulde sytte downe and take their places in order: Hiempsall yongest of them all was somwhat fyers of nature/ and dysposed to statelynesse. Also in mynde long before this tyme he dysdayned ꝑ ignobylite of Jugurth for asmoche as he was vnlyke vnto them of byrth towchynge his mothers syde: and a bastarde borne: as is sayde before. Wherfore he dysdayned that the same Jugurth shulde haue ꝑ place of moost honoure amonge them/ whiche were naturall sonnes of a kynge/ and also laufully begotten: Also in cōtempt of Jugurth he set hym selfe downe on the ryght hande of his brother Adherball: to thintent that Jugurth shulde nat syt in ꝑ myddes bytwene thē: which rowme ꝑ Numydyēs count of moost honour. And afterward howbeit his brother Adherball requyred hym often to gyue place to Jugurth/ bycause of his age:

Postq̄ illi regio more iusta magnifice fecerant: reguli in vnum conuenierunt vt inter se de cūctis negotijs disceptarent.

Sed Hiempsal qui minimus ex illis erat: natura ferox: etiam antea ignobilitatem Iugurthę: quia materno genere impar erat: dispiciens: dextra Adherbalē assedit ne medi⁹ ex tribus (quod apud Numidas honori ducit) Iugurtha foret.

Deinde tamē vt etati cōcederet fatigatus a fra-

tre: vix in partem alterā traductus est.

Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio differerent: Iugurtha inter alias res ait: oportere qui quenniſ consulta et decreta omnia rescindi.

Nam pea tempora confectum annis Micipſam parum animo valuisse.

Tum Hiēpsal placere sibi respondit: nam ipsum illum his tribus proximis annis adoptione in regnum peruenisse.

Quod verbum in pectus Iugurthę altius q̄ quisq̄ ratus erat descēdit.

Itaq; ex eo tempore ira/ et metu anxius: moliri/ parare/ atq; ea modo in animo habere: quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperet. Quę vbi tardius procedunt: neque lenitur animus ferox: statuit quouis modo iceptū pficere.

Primo cōuētu: quē ab regulis factū supra memorauī propt dissēsionē pla

yet vnnethes coude he with mothe payne induce hym thereto/ but at laste fatygate by requestes of his brother and of other noble menne of the realme: he chaunged his place and set hym vpon the other syde with countenaunce declaryng his mynde nat contented. And thus at laste satte Jugurth for his age in the myddes bytwene them bothe as in place of mooſt honour. Whanne the thre prynces were thus sette: and whan they had commyned of many thynges concernynge the admynyſtracion of the kyngdome: amonge many and dyuers other thynges Jugurth sayde that all the statutes and ordynaūces whiche the kyng Micipſa hadde made fyue yeres before his deth/ ought of cōgruence to be adnulled & broken as of none effect. For in that season (as sayd he) his wyt what for age/ what for syckenesse was feble/ dull/ and of small valoure. And therfore suche thynges as he had in that space inacted were done without wysdome or reason. Whanne Hiempsall harde Jugurth thus speke: he answered sayeng that it pleased hym right well that it shulde so be done. For within the same thre yeres (sayd he) our father Micipſa hath adopted you to his sonne & in his testamēt ordayned you to be partyner of his kyngdome: whiche was the worſt and mooſt vnaduised dede that euer he dyd yonge or olde. Wherfore Jugurth accordynge to your owne ordynaunce this muſt fyrſt of all be adnulled and broken whiche done my brother and I shall nat greatly contende for the remenant. These wordes of Hiempsall pearsedde the hert of Jugurth more profoundely thanne any man there thought or ſuſpected. Wherfore from that tyme forwarde: what for wrathe of these wordes/ and for dredde of losse of his porcyon of the kyngdome his mynde was in great trouble and anguyſſhe. Insomoche that from thens forthe: he went aboute/ ymagened/ ordayned/ and onely reuoulued in his mynde: by what gyle or treason Hiempsall myght be caught in his daunger. But whanne his purpose proceded but ſlowly forwarde consyderynge that the frowarde delyre and vntretenable appetyte of his mynde coude nat be mytigated nor pcyfied: he eſtabliſſhed and cōcluded to bryng his enterpryſe to effect by any maner meanes: other by preuy treason and gyle: or els by euydēt and open vyolence and force of armes. But to retourne agayne where I left in this firſte aſſemble of the thre prynces of which I ſpake before: it pleased thē all ꝑ the treſours of kyng

Micipſa ſhulde be deuyded among them bycauſe of this dyſ-
ſēcion. And alſo ꝑ the marches and boũdes of eche of their do-
myntons/ ſeuerally ſhulde be aſſygned to eche of thē his poz-
cyon. Wherfoze the tyme was apoynted and pzefixed whanne
bothe ſhulde be done: but the tyme to departe the treaſoures
was ſonner aſſygned than to deuyde and lymyte the boũdes
of their domynions. This apoyntment made: the pzynces de-
parted company: ꝑ mynde of Jugurth nat a lytell inquyeted
foz the ſayde checke of Hiempſall: foz whiche cauſe he awayt-
ted his tyme to auenge hym.

cuit diuidi theſauros: fi-
nesq; imperij ſingulis cō
ſtituī. Itaq; tēp⁹ ad vtrā
q; rem diſcernit ſed ma-
turius ad pecuniā diſtri-
buendam.

## Chow Jugurth by treaſon murdzed Hiempſall the yonger ſonne of kynge Micipſa.

### The eyght chapter.

When the thze pzynces were departed in ſonder: as I haue ſayd befoze: they ſo-
iourned in ſundzy places and that nere to the towze where the treaſours lay. Hiem-
ſall dzewe hym to a towne named Tyz-
myda nat ferre dyſtant. In which towne he had a dwellynge place: than as happe-
ned in the ſame towne was a man of the garde longyng to Ju
gurth of his lozde ryght derely beloued/ and with hym great-
ly in fauoure. This ſeruaunt of Jugurth was moche conuer-
ſaunt and famylyer in the houſe of Hiempſall/ whan Jugurth
by chaunce remembzedde this opoztunyte to his myſcheuous
purpoſe: he called ſecretely vnto hym his ſayd ſeruaunt. And
after many wozdes ſpoken to ſerche his mynde: at laſt by pzo-
meſſe of large rewardes he induced and made hym to conſent
to go as yf it were to vyſyte the houſe of Hiempſall: as he had
often done befoze tyme: and by ſome meanes and craft to coũ-
terfayte the kayes of the gates and bzynge them vnto hym.
Foz the ryght kayes: after the gates were locked: nyghly we-
re delyuerde vnto Hiempſall hymſelfe: ſo myght they nat be
vnmyſſed the ſpace of a night. Whan Jugurth had induced ꝑ
Numydyan to conſent to this dede: he pzomyſed hymſelfe wi-
in ſhozte tyme after to come to the ſayd lodgyng of Hiempſall
what tyme ꝑ caſe ſhulde requyze: with great power of armed
men. The Numydyan in ſhozte tyme perfourmed the com-
maundement of Jugurth/ in ſomoche that he bzought vnto

¶ Reguli interea in loca
propinqua theſauris ali
us alio cōceſſere. Sed Hi
empſal in oppido Thir-
mida forte eius domo v-
tebatur qui proximus li
ctor Iugurthę: charus/
acceptusq; ei ſemper fue-
rat. Quem ille caſu mini
ſtrum oblatum promiſſis
onerat impellitq; vti tā
q̄ ſuam viſens domū eat
portarum claues adulte
rinas paret.

Nam vere claues ad Hi-
empſalem referebantur.
Cæterum (vbi res poſtu-
laret) ſeipſum cum ma-
gna manu venturum.

Numida mandata bre-
ui confecit.

hym the counterfayted kayes: as he had apoynted. Jugurth hereof was gladde in mynde: and anone prepared secretely a great company of armed men: whome he commaunded to bryng vnto hym the heed of Hiempsall trenched from the body: and in executynge of this dede he commaunded them all to be ruled by the Numydyan whiche had counterfayted the keys. This done the sayd Numydyan conuayed these armed men preuyly by nyght into the house of Hiempsall/ lyke as he was informed by Jugurth. Whan this treatoure Satellyte was entred with his company and had broken into ꝑ inwarde edyfices: dyuers of them serched for the prynce Hiempsall: some murdred his seruaũtes as they lay sleppynge in their beddys suspectynge no suche treason: some other awakened with the dynne stert vp and mette their ennempes defendynge thẽselfe but all in vayne: for they had no leyser to arme themselfe. And therfore were slayne anone vnarmed of men armed and apoynted to myschefe: whan the treatours had longe sought Hiempsall and counde nat fynde hym: than serched they more nerely euery hydde corner and secret: close places they brast open: all was full of dynne mengled with noyse and clamour: So moche they sought and so nerely: that at last they founde out Hiempsall/ hydde in the cotage of a pore seruyng woman to which place he had fledde at begynnyng of this affray/ as a man astonyed for drede and ignorant of the place. Anone as the Numidyans had founde hym they slewe hym without any mercy. And as they were cõmaunded cutte of his heed and brought the same to Jugurth: but shortly after: ꝑ fame of this cruell and tyrannous dede was dyuulgate: and ouer spredde all the landes of Affryke: Adherball and all they which were vnder subiectyon of Micipsa whyle he lyued: were sore troubled and abasshed with fere for this tyrannous crueltie of Jugurth. The Numydyans anone deuyded themselfe into two parties. The mooste part drewe/ and leaned to Adherball/ but suche as were mooste manly and beste to batayle drewe them to the other partie: and leaned to Jugurth. Wherfore he made redy as great an army as he myght ioynynge vnto hym and bryngyng vnder his subiectyon the townes & cyties of Numidy: some by vyolence/ and some other by theyr owne volũtary wyll. In somoche ꝑ finally he kept vnder his subiection & bõdage the hole lande of Numydy. But nat withstãdynge that Adherball had sent embassadours to Rome: to certyfy ꝑ senatours of ꝑ deth of his brother how cowardly he was murdred

Atq; (vti doctus erat) nostu Iugurthę milites introducit. Qui postq̃ in ędes irrepere: diuersi regem querebant: dormiẽtes alios: alios occursãtes interfecere.

Scrutari loca abdita: clausa affrigere: strepitu et tumultu oĩa miscere.

Quum interĩ Hiempsal reperitur occultãs se in tugurio mulieris ãcille: quo in initio pauidus: et loci ignarus pfugerat. Numide raput eius (vti iussi erant) referunt. Ceterũ fama tanti facinoris per omnem Aphricã breui dinulgatur. Adherbalẽ omnesq; qui sub imperio Micipse fuerãt metus inuadit. In duas partes Numide discedunt. Plures Adherbalem sequuntur. Sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Iugurtha quãmaximas potest copias parat: vrbes partim vi: alias voluntate: impio suo adiungere. Omni Numidię imperare. Adherbal (tametsi legatos Romam miserat: qui senatum docerẽt de

and also to ifozme thē of his owne mylerable foztune & i what case he was: neuertheleſſe he made hymſelfe redy to fyght wᵗ Jugurth as he which had truſt and confydence in multytude of his ſowdyours allembled redy to batayle.

## ¶How Jugurth ouercame Adherball in batayl and putte hym to flyght: how Adherball fledde to Rome to cōplayne to the ſenatours: and how Jugurthe accloyed with rewardes many of the rulers of Rome: by whoſe meanes his cruelty was defended. ¶The.ix.chapter.

HOw had Jugurth allēbled his hooſt redy vnto batayle: nat lyke in multytude to the company of Adherball: but as I ſayd befoze moche bolder and better expert and exercyſed in warre. On the other ptie Adherball had his people redy apoynted: and both the armyes appzoched togyder. But whan they ioyned togyder: and whā it came to byckerynge: that the mater muſt be tryed with ſtrypes. Anone Adherball was vanquelſhed: and to ſaue his lyfe fledde fozthe of the batayle into a pzouynce marchynge on the lande of Numydy: and frome thens withall haſt ſpedde hym vnto Rome to complayne his mylerable foztune: & to requyze ſocours as I ſhal afterwarde declare. But thā Jugurth whā he had all the lande of Numydy at his pleaſure: counſelled wᵗ his frendes of many thynges/ but at concluſyon: whan he cōſydzed by hymſelfe that he had ſlayne Hiempſall: and chaſed Adherball out of his kyngdome: whan he was ydle & at reſt: he often ſecretly reuoulued in mynde his owne crueltie: ſoze dzedynge what punyſſhement the romayns wolde ozdayne a gaynſt the ſame. Noz agaynſt the Ire and dyſpleaſue of the romayns hadde he none other hope noz confoꝛt ſaue in the couetyſe of the noble men of Rome: and in thabundaūce of his treſoures: wherwith he truſted to cozrupt the rulers of Rome to be fauorable to hym. This cōſydzed within fewe dayes after he ſent to Rome embaſſadours with moche golde and ſyluer to whom he gaue in cōmaūdemēt: ꝑ fyrſt of all they ſhulde ſatyſfy his olde frendes with rewardes & money: and than to

cede fratris: et fortunis ſuis (tamen fretus multitudine militum parat armis contendere.

¶Sed vbi res ad certamen venit: victus: ex prelio profugit i prouiciā.

Ac dehinc Romam contendit.

Tum Iugurtha pactis cōfilijs poſtq̄ omni Numidia pociebatur: i ocio facinus ſuum in animo reputās: timere populū romanū: neq; aduerſus irā eius vsq̄: niſi in auiricia nobilitat; et pecunia ſpem habere.

Itaq; paucis diebus poſt cū auro et argento multo Romam legatos mittit: quibus precepit primum vti veteres

amicos muneribꝰ repleàrit deide nouos exquiràt. Postremo quunq; possit largiẽdo ne cũctẽtur.

Sed vbi legati Romã venere: et ex precepto regis hospitibꝰ/ aliisq; quorũ ea tẽpestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat: magna munera misere: Tãta cõmutatio icessit: vt ex maxima inuidia et maliuolentia in grãm et fauorẽ nobilitatis Iugurtha veniret. Quorũ pars spe/ alij premio inducti: singulos ex senatu ãbiendo nitebãtur: ne grauius i eũ cõsuleretur. Igitur: vbi legati satis cõfudũt: die cõstituti senatus vtriusque datur.

Tum Adherbalẽ hoc modo locutum accepimus

spare no gyftes to gete vnto hym mo newe frendes. And bycause it that they shulde nat spare nor tary to procure vnto hym fauourers and mayntenars of his part: and all thynges for his auauntage by gyftes and promysses. But after these embassadours were come to Rome: accordyng to the cõmaundemẽt of their kyng: they gaue and sent to his acquayntãce & frendes: and to suche as amonge the senatours: at that tyme had moost authorite: large and great rewardes. In somoche that anone among them was so great a chaunge: that the maruelous enuy/ hatred/ and euyl wyll: which they had agaynst Jugurth was all chaunged into fauour and grace among the noble men. Of whom some were so induced by gyftes receyued: and some other by hope of bybes in tyme to come: that they went about among the senatours fro one to one labowryng & intretyng þ at þ season nothyng shulde be extremely nor greuously determyned agaynst Jugurth. Thus after þ embassadours of Jugurth had cõfydence & truft ynough i their matter they laboured to haue a day apoynted to apere in court. The day of apparence was graunted as well to them as to Adherball: to Adherball as playntyfe: and to þ embassadours as defendentes for Jugurth: whan the day assygned was cõe both the parties appered in court before the senatours/ than after audyence graũted/ Adherball began to speke vnder forme folowyng for cõplaynt & declaratyõ of his iniuries & oppressyõ.

**There insueth the oratyon of Adherball: deuysed in forme delyberatyue: in which he exhorteth the senatours to cõmaunde socours and ayde to be assygned vnto hym/ prouyng the same to be profytable/ honest/ and easy to the Romayns to do: profytable: that he myght cõtynue a frende vnto the empyre of Rome: honest: for his father & grandfather had so deserued: easy to be done: for the Romayns at that tyme had none other warre els where.**

**The .x. chapter.**

Patres conscripti Micipsa pater meus moriẽs præcepit: vt regni Numidię tantũmodo procurationẽ existimarem meã. Cæterũ ius imperiũ eius penes vos esse populumque romanũ simul enitерer

Most discrete chosen fathers: and noble senatours: Micipsa my father at his hour of deth cõmaũded me that I shulde thynke nought els of the lande of Numidy to apteyne to me: saue onely the rule and admynystratyon of the same: affirmyng that the tytle of possessyon and empyre of the same belonged

belonged to you & to the people of Rome. Moreouer he gaue me in cõmaundement to do my deuoyr: to be vnto you seruyable aboue all thynges: bothe in peace and in warre. And that I shulde count you vnto me in place & stede of kynsmen: and nereste frẽdes of alyaunce. Sayeng that yf I shulde so do: thã by your amyte and frendshyppe I shulde fynde an army/ tyches/ and defence of the kyngdome of Numydy: and of me & myne in all tymes of nede: which precepts of my father: whyle I kept in mynde to obserue: sodaynly. Jugurth the moost cruell and cursed of all men whom the grounde susteyneth/ and bothe hers cõtemnyng and dyspyling your empyre: hath dryuen me from your kyngdome: and from all my other goodes of fortune: nothyng regardyng that I am neuewe of Massinissa and myne auncetry a felowe and frende of the empyre & people of Rome. But certaynly worthy & chosen fathers: syth I am come to that mysery that necessyte cõstrayneth me to desyre your ayde & socours: I wolde moch rather that I myght call for your helpe: for myne owne merytes agaynst you: than for the merytes of my fore fathers: and that by suche meanes of ryght & vnne deseruynge/ your benefytes and socours were due vnto me/ which I wolde god that I neded nat at all: but yf this your ayde myght of you be desyred by my merites and deseryng than shulde I call boldly to you: and vse yr socours of duety as myne auncetry haue done in tymes passed. But now wel sithe it is so that probyte/ honestyte/ and innocence: in this worlde fyndeth lytell sureneste by themselfe without protectyon of some other. Moreouer sith it was nat in my power to myght nor to withstande this tyrannous iniury of Jugurth. Therfore chefe fathers I am now fledde vnto you as to my chefe refuge: constrayned of necessyte to requyre yr socoures: and cõstrayned to put you to helpes/ and charge: before or I haue done any pleasure or profet vnto you: which thynge greueth me moost of all/ and is one of my greteste mysteries. Ryght now thy senatours other lynges haue ben receyued in to your frendshyppe and fauour/ after ye haue ouercome them in batayle: or els parceyuyng themselfe in dãger and in doutfull chaunces of fortune: they haue coueyted and desyred your socyete/ your felowshyppe/ and fauour/ rather for theyr owne wele than for yours. But moch cõtrarely: our fore fathers and rote of our lynage Massinissa confederated hymselfe with the peple of Rome in the seconde batayle of Affryke or Cartage: what tryne was more faythfulnes to be trusted in them & their

set nobis domi militiq; q̃maximo vsui esse. Vos mihi cognatorum et affinium loco ducerẽ. Si ea fecissem: in vestra amicitia exercitum/ diuitias/ munimenta regni me habiturum. Que precepta patris cum agitarem: Iugurtha homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus cõtempto vestri imperio Massinissam me nepotem a stirpe sotium atque amicum populi romani: regno/ fortunisq; omnibus expulit. Atque ego patres cõscripti: quo miserorum verum eram: vehemẽtius ob mea q̃ ob maiorum beneficia meorum posse me auxilium a vobis petere: ac maxime debere mihi benefitia a populo romano quibus vtinam non egerem.

Sed si ea desiderando erant vti debitis vterer.

Sed quoniam parũ tuta p seipsã probitas est: neque mihi in manu fuit qualis foret Iugurtha: ad vos cõfugi patres cõscripti: quibus mihi miserrimũ est cogor prius vne ri q vsui esse.

Cãteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiã recepti sunt: aut suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetierunt.

Familia nostra cũ populo romano bello Carthaginensi amicitiam instituit. Quo tempore ma-

gis fides eius q̄ fortuna petendus erat.

Quorū progenie vos patres conscripti nolite pati me nepotem Massinisse frustra auxilium petere. Sed si ad impetrandū nihil cause haberem preter miserandam fortunā q̄ paulo ante ego rex genere/ fama atque copijs potens: nūc deformatus ermnis: inops alienas opes expecto. Tamen erat magestatis populi romani prohibere iniuriā: neque pati cuius q̄ regnum pax scelus crescere.

Verū ego his finibus eiectus cum a quo: maioribus meis populus romanus dedit: vnde pater et auus meus vna vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sūt: patres conscripti in meam iniuriā delecti estis. Heu me miserū. Huccine Micipsa pater beneficia tua eualuere? Vt quem tu patrem cum liberis tuis: regnique participem fecisti: is potissimum stirpis tue extinctor sit. Nunq̄ ne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? Semper ne in sanguine/ ferro/ fuga/ versabimur? Dum Carthaginenses incolumes fuere iure

good wyll than of welth or riches to be optayned of the romayns/ beynge at that tyme allayled with warre on euery syde: their ryches and treasours cōsumed by often batayles. Thus is it euydent that our amcetry confederat nat the lese to your felowshyp for their owne defence: in hope of ryches: in hope of dompynton: nor for any other pryuate profet: but onely for fauoure and loue whiche they had vnto your empyre. Wherfore noble senatours suffre nat the progeny and braunches of this stocke to be dystroyed. Suffre nat me whiche am nevewe of your trusty frende Massinilla to aske helpe & socours in bayne. But prudent fathers: yf it were so that I had none other cause to demaunde socours of you saue onely this myserable fortune wher with I am oppressed: that I which was lately a kyng by lyne all dystent: mighty of auncetry: excellent & clere of fame: habundaunt in riches and men of armes. And nowe dysformed by miserable calampyte/ pore and nedy/ am cōstrayned to seke helpe & socours of other men: yf I had none other mater wherof to cōplayne/ saue this miserable fortune onely. Neuertheless it longeth and is conuenyent to the magesty of the people of Rome/ to prohibyte and to withstande iniury. And nat to suffre the kyngdome or dompynton of any mans tyne and increase by falshode and myscheuous tyranny. And the tyght heyres agaynst tyght/ agaynst iustyce/ and agaynst treason/ to be excluded from their true heryptage. But betily I am excluded and cast forthe of ꝑ countrey which the romayns in tyme passed gaue vnto my forefathers: out of ꝑ which cōtrey my father and grandfather accompanyed with your army and helpe: haue chased the kyng Syphar/ and also ꝑ Carthagynēces bothe moost vyolent enmyes to the empyre of Rome. Your benefites are spoyled from me: In this myne iniury be ye displyed. Who is my myserable emulate: Alas my dere father Micipsa at your gode deedes and kyndnes agaynst Jugurth come to this poynt & conclusyon: that he before all other shuld namely be dystroyer of your lynage and chyldren: whome ye haue made felowe with your owne sonnes: and also partyner of your kyngdome: alas: than shall your stocke and housolde neuer be quyet: Shall we alway be tossed and turned in effusyon of blode/ in batayle/ in eryle/ and in chasyng frō our countrey: whyle the Carthagynēces raygned in prosperite we suffred & that pacyently and nat vndeserued all cruelte & vexacion For the were our ennemies on euery syde of vs: our frendes in whom we shuld haue founde socour at tyme of nede were fery

dyſioyned & ſeperate from vs. Thus al our hope: all our truſt was in our ſtrength & armour. But nowe after that peſtylent dyſtruction of the Carthaginēces is chaſed and caſten out of Affryke we cōtynued a tyme ioyefull & quyet: demeanyng and paſſyng our lyfe in peace & tranquylite/ for why we had no enemy: except paraduenture: for any iniury done agaynſt you ye wolde cōmaunde vs to take your enmy for ours alſo/ as reſon & ryght requyred. But nowe ſodaynly & vnwardly to vs: this cruell Jugurth eraltyng hymſelfe by his intolleratable audacite/ by cruelte/ & pryde hath firſt ſlayne my brother and his owne nere kynſman Hiēpſall: & in augmētynge his myſchefe hath vſurped to him as in pray my brothers part and portion of the kyngdome of Numydy/ and after: feyng that he might nat take me with lyke maner of gyles as he had done my brother/ what tyme I douted nothyng leſſe than any violence or batayle in the kyngdome which I hold of you/ he hath chaſed me (as ye may ſe) out of your kyngdome/ and hath made me as an abiect outlawe: chaſed frō my countrey: and dwellynge place/ oppreſſed with pouerty/ and laded with miſeres. In ſo moche ỹ I may be in more ſuerty and ſaue garde in any place of the worlde/ than in my owne natyfe coūtrey & kyngdome/ which I holde of you. For ſothe worthy ſenatours: I haue euer thought in lyke maner as I haue often tymes herd my father Micipſa openly report with ſadneſſe: ſayeng ỹ they whiche ſhulde dyligently cōtynue in your frendſhyp by their merytꝫ/ muſt take great labours at many tymes vpon thēſelfe in your cauſes: but of all men they were moſt ſure frō iniury of any man: And ſothely all my lynage hath done aſmoche as in them was at your deſyres: And euer hath ben redy in all batayls & nedes to aſſyſt you. Wherfore if ye folowe the preceptꝫ of gratytude: if ye bere in remēbraunce theſe merytes of myne aūcetry/ it is bothe right and honeſty ỹ in this myne extreme neceſſite/ ye ayde & ſocour me/ and reſtore me agayne to quyetnes: whyle ye haue none other beſynes in hand/ which may be to you impedymēt i this enterpryſe. Moſt diſcret fathers: more clerely to declare vnto you my cōplaynt & my miſery: And alſo to certify your excellence more playnly of myne vnnaturall and vnkynde kynſman Jugurth: and of his cruelty. It is nat vnknowen vnto your mageſte: that my father Micipſa after his departyng: left behynde hym vs two brethern his naturall and laufull ſonnes: ſuppoſynge that by his benefytes & merites Jugurth ſhuld be ioyned with vs/ as thyrde brother.

omnia ſena patiebamur: hoſtes a latere. Vos amici procul. Spes omnis in armis. Poſtq̄ illa peſtis ex Aphrica eiecta eſt: leti pacem agitabamus: quippe quib⁹ nullus hoſtis erat niſi illi forte quem vos iuſſiſſetis. Ecce autē ex improuiſo: Iugurtha intollerāda audatiā/ ſcelere/ atque ſuperbia ſeſe eferens: fratre meo atque eodem propinquo ſuo interfecto primum regnum eius ſceleris ſui prēdā fecit. Poſt vbi in eiſdem dolis me nequiuit capere: nihil minus q̄ vim aut bellum expectantē in imperio veſtro (ſicut videt,) extorrem patria: domo i opem et coopartū miſeriis effecit: vt vbiuis tutius q̄ in meo regno eſſē. Ego ſic exiſtimabam patres conſcripti (vti predicātem audiueram patrē meum) qui diligenter colerent amicitiam veſtrā: eos multum laborē ſuſcipere: cæterū ex omnibus maxime tutos eſſe. Quod ſi familia noſtra fuit preſtitit: vti in omnib⁹ bellis adeſſet vobis. Nos vti per ocium tuti ſimus in manu veſtra eſt.

Patres conſcripti pater nos duos fratres reliquit tertium Iugurthā beneficiis ſuis ratus eſt conſtinctum nobis fore.

Alter eorum necatus est: alter eius ipse ego manꝰ impias vix effugi.

But alas: moche contrary thone of vs is murdred by this cruell Jugurth/ blynded by insacyable ambycion or desyre of dominyon. And I my selfe the seconde brother skantly and with great dyfficulte haue escaped his cruell & vnmercyfull handi: what may I do: or whether shall I rathest flee for socort vnhappy exulate thus desolate and infortunate as I am. All the socours all the cõfort/ of my stocke & kynred is extinct by deth my grandfather Mastinissa: and my father Micipsa: as necessyte hath cõstrayned them: haue payed the generall trybute of nature: delyuered frõ these mundayne veracions by naturall deth. My nere kynsman Jugurth: moch other wyse than it becãe hym to do: hath cursedly bereft my brother of his lyfe by tyranny & myschenous couetise of dompnion: myne other kynsmen by cõsanguynite and affinyte: withall myne other frendi by his cruelty ben also oppressed or put to dethe/ some by one meanes & some by other: some of hym be taken captyue: some put to shamefull deth of gybet/ galous/ or crosse/ with moost cruell tourment: some be casten to wylde & rapynous beesti to be deuoured of them. A fewe which ar left with their lyues/ ar closed in dongyons & darknes: passing forth their mysterable lyues with mournyng & waylyng more greuous thã deth. Thus am I inuyroned with anguyssh on euery syde. But if it were so: þ all these socours whiche I haue lost by cruelty of Jugurth: or if all thyngi which be turned to me: frõ prosperyte to aduersyte/ remayned to this hour hole without detrimẽt or dãmage lyke as they were in my best estate: yet certaynly noble senatours: yf any yll or mysfortune vnpryuyded shulde happen vnto me: I wold be bolde to call vpon your ayde & cõfort. Bycause it semeth you to haue cure of right & wronge belongyng to euery man: consydryng þ excellent magnitude and gretnes of your empyre/ and to suffre no vertue vnrewarded nor vyce vnpunysshed/ and finally no wretch oppressed to cõtynue vndefended. But nowe moost of all (the I am exulate frõ my natyfe contrey/ frõ the kyngdome which my father ruled vnder you: & from myn owne house & dwellynge place/ also neby & poze of all thyngi belõgyng to my estate/ & alone without cõpany or defẽce: to whõ or to what place may I resort: or on whom may I call for ayde or cõfort in these my manyfolde myseries. Shall I resort or call for socours of nacyons/ or of kyngi adiacent or about þ lande of Numidy: alas I shuld ytell preuayle or nought at all. Sith all they for yꝰ amyte ioyned with you be moztall emmemies to vs & to our lynage: may

Alter eorum necatus est: alter eius ipse ego manꝰ impias vix effugi.

Quid agam: aut quo potissimũ infelix accedam: Generis omnia presidia extincta sunt. Pater vti necesse erat nature concessit.

Eratri quem minime decuit propiquus p scelus vitam eripuit Affinis/ amicos ceteros meos propinquos alium alia clade oppressit.

Pars capti a Iugurtha: pars i crucẽ acti: et pars bestijs obiecti sunt.

Pauci (quibus relicta est anima) clausi i tenebris: cum merore et luctu morte grauiorem vitam exigunt. Sed si omnia mihi que aut amisi: aut que ex necessarijs aduersa facta sunt: incolumina manerent: tamen si quid ex ĩm prouiso mali accidisset vos implorarẽ patres cõscripti quibꝰ pro magnitudine imperij ius et iniurias oẽs cure eẽ decet. Nunc vero exul patria/ domo/ solus atq; oim honestarũ rerum egens quo accedã aut quos appellem: Naciones ne an reges: qui oẽs familie nr̃e ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt. An quoq; mihi adire licet vbi nõ meorũ maiorũ monumẽto hosti

I resort to any contrey about vs: but that I shuld fynde they many tokens of cruelte of wacre: which my forefathers haue done in their tymes passed in your causes. Whyther shall any of the which haue ben our olde ennemis haue mercy or cõpassyon on vs nowe in this our extremyte. But finally moost noble senatours: my father Micipsa thus ordred vs at his deyeng: and gaue vs in cõmaundemẽt that we shuld obserue nor mentayne the frendshyp of none other kyng nor peple/saue only of the peple of Rome: and that we shulde seke no newe felowshyp/nor newe sõlderacyons or bondes of cõcorde sayeng þ in your frendshyp & helpe: we shulde fynde great socours and ayde & that largly. But yf it shulde fortune þ the welth of this your empyre shuld fall into ruyne or change from this excellẽce (which the goddes defende) than: sayd he þ we and our kyngdome of necessyte shuld also decay togyder wt you. But nowe lauded be þ goddes by whose helpe & fauour/& by your owne strength & hertue: ye be at this tyme mighty & riche: all thyng to you is prosperous/& to your cõmaundemẽt obeyng. Wherfore it is somech more lawfull/easy/& conuenyẽt to you to take cure & charge in redressyng thintures done to yor frendes & felowes. I am only in drede & dout of this one thyng lest þ frendshyp & singuler fauour of Jugurth: nat yfetly knowen as he is worthy: do induce the myndes of some to ptialyte agaynst Justice & right. I here & vnderstand that such labour withall their myght for fauour of Jugurth goyng about frõ man to man/praying & intreatyng with moch solycitude many of you a part by one & one desyring & requiryng you to determyn no thynge agaynst Jugurth whyle he is absent: & the mater and cause nat knowen yfetly: I here such persons corrupt with ptialyte & fauour obiectyng secretly agaynst me & sayeng. that I sayne & pmagyn these wordes to acuse Jugurth vnworthely/and þ I sayne to be chased forth of my lande by hym: whet as I might surely ynough haue remayned within þ kingdõe of Numidy. That wold god I myght se ones þ cursed & vnkynde kynsmã of myne Jugurth/by whose vnmercyfull and cruell dedes I am cast en in these miseries/in such case: that he were saynyng the same thynges vnder lyke maner as I sayne thẽ at this tyme: and wold god I myght ones se hym as truely without saynyng depuse out of þ land of Numidy as I am nowe chased frõ the same by his cruelty: & wolde god þ at last other ye or els þ immortall goddes wold so care for þ besynesses & troubles of vs myserable me in erth: þ the same Jugurth

Jugurth. C.iii.

ita plurima sint

An quisq; nostri misereri potest qui aliquãdo nobis hostis fuit?

Postrẽo Micipsa ita nos instituit patres cõscripti ne quem coleremus nisi populum romanũ: ne societatem/neq; fedra noua acciperemus: abunde magna presidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore. Sed si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur: vna occidendum nobis fore.

Virtute ac diis volẽtib⁹ magni et opulẽti estis.

Omnia secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum iniurias curare licet. Tantũ illud vereor ne quos priuata amicitia Iugurthę parum cognita transuertos agat: quos ego audio tũma opere niti/ambire fatigare. vos singulos: ne quid de absẽte (incognita causa) statuatis.

Fingere me verba: et fugam simulare: cui licuerit in regno manere.

Q; vtinam illum (cuius impio facinore i has miserias proiectus sum) eadem hec similantẽ videã: et aliquãdo aut apud vos aut deos imortales: rerũ humanarũ cura oriatur: vt ille qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox/atque preclar⁹ est oibus malis ipse excruciat⁹ impieta-

tis i parẽtem nostrũ fratris mei necis: mearumq; miseriarũ graues penas reddat.

Iamiam frater alo meo charissime q̃ q̃ tibi immaturo: et vnde minime decuit: vita erepta est tamẽ letandum magis q̃ dolẽdum casum tuũ puto.

Non enim tãtum regnũ; sed fugam/exiliũ/egestatem/et has oẽs erumnas (que me premũt) cum anima simul amisisti, at ego infelix in tãta mala precipitat⁹ ex patrio regno rerum humanarũ spectaculum prebeo. Incertus sum quid agam. tuas ne iniurias psequar ipse auxiliũ egens: an regno cõsulam: cuius vite necisq; potestas ex opib⁹ alienis pendet. Vtinã emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset: ne viuere cõtentus viderer si defess⁹ malis iniurie concessissem.

Nunc neque viuere libet mihi neque mori licet sine dedecore.

Patres conscripti obtestor vos p liberos atq; parentes vestros: p magestatem populi romani subuenite mihi misero.

Ite obuiam iniurie: nolite pati regnũ Numidię (quod vestrũ est) per sce-

whych now wereth himselfe proude of his cruell dedes shewig himselfe & coũtyng him noble onely bycause he escapeth vnpunysshed for his syn & cruelte: might therfore suffre greuous punysshmẽt wall my miseries/& other myscheues & vyls according to his deseruyng: for his vnmercyfull cruelte shewed agaynst our father Micipsa/i murdrig of my dere brother Hiempsall/ & chasynge me forth of my natyfe coũtre: thus oppressed with all myseries i extreme necessite. O my brother my brother Hiempsall moost dere to my hart of all creatures: how beit nowe thy lyfe is bereft the in thy flouryng youth long before thy naturall hour of deth: And ỹ by cruelte of hym who it semed nat of all mẽ so to haue done: neuertheles me thinketh in my mynde this chaũce of thy deth more to be ioyed of: than to be forowed For thou hast nat onely lost thy lyfe & thy kyngdome: but also thou hast escaped this chasyng/this flyght/this exyle/this nede/this pouerty withall other wretchednesses & myseries whiche oppresseth me without cõfort or socours. But I vnhappy & myserable exulate this throwen downe frõ my fathers kyngdome into so many yls & so great myseries/ may welbe an exãple & spectacle to all ỹ world of the mutable courses wherin fortune turneth mankynd. O my dere brother vncertayne am I what I do: whyther I thus destitute of socour & ayde: may prosecute & reueng thy iniuries & thy deth: or els whether I may prouyde & seke socours for recouryng of ỹ land of Numidy. I am in ỹ case: that my lyfe & deth depẽdeth in the socour of other mẽ. Wold god I were deed out of hand: yf deth might be an honest cõclusyon of these my miserable misfortunes: rather than to be coũted as contẽt & pleased to lyue in rebuke & shame as an exulate weryed & ouercõe with iniuries: & gyueng place to ỹ iniust cruelty of tyrãnous prosecucyon & as nat able nor bolde to resist ỹ same. Thus now certaynly it is agaynst my wyl that I lyue for in my lyfe I haue no lyking nor pleasure/ And yet can I nat dye without dyshonestyy. Wherfore moost prudẽt fathers & noble senatours: these premysses cõsydred: I obtest & humbly requyre you: in honour of ỹ goddes immortall: for thaũcient amyte bytwene you & my forefathers: for ỹ naturall loue whiche ye haue agaynst your chyldren & parentes/ & by the magesty of ỹ peple of Rome: & this your moost excellent empyre: haue pyte of my manyfold miseris: & socour this my mysery. Resist this tyrãnous dealyng & iniury of Jugurth cõmytted nat onely agaynst my wretched person: but also against you & your empyre. Suffre nat ỹ kyngdõe of Numidy: whi-

the is po' owne: to decay & be distroyed by cruell tyranny of Jugurth & by effusion of blode & murdre of ꝑ lynage of Masinissa (otherwise most faythfull & constãt frend of this po' empyre.

## ¶ How the embassadours of Jugurth replyed agaynst these wordes of Adherball: and what direction was taken for bothe ꝑties of ꝑ senatours of Rome. The. xi. chapter.

After that Adherball i fourme aboue written had ended his cõplaynt: anon ꝑ embassadours of Jugurth arose & answerd breefly in fewe wordes: as they which had more trust & confidẽce in their great gyftes gyuẽ before to many of ꝑ rulers of Rome: than i any right of their cause & thus they replyed in effect: sayeng before ꝑ senatours that Hiẽpsall was slayne of the Numidyans for his owne hastines & cruelte/ and nat by knowlege nor cõsent of Jugurth: and as touching Adherball: he began warr agaynst Jugurth of his owne froward mynd without any occasyon: but after he was ouercõe in batayle by cause he was nat able to reueng hi̇selfe/ nor to make his partie gode he fled vnto Rome to cõplayn him to ꝑ senatours: of Jugurth wher as all ꝑ faute was in hi̇selfe/ & in none other cõcernyng ꝑ party of Jugurth: they requyred ꝑ senatours i his behalfe in his absence to coũt him none other thã he was ꝓued & knowen in ꝑ warre of Numãce: And ꝑ they wold nat set more by ꝑ wordes of his ennemy: thã by his dedes magnificẽtly ꝓoued: anone aft: both parties departed in sunder frõ the court. Immedyatly the senatours toke counsell what best was to be done in ꝑ cause. The fauourers of Jugurth & of his embassadours & moreouer a great part of ꝑ senato's were corrupt before by pestylent fauour & rewardꝫ of Jugurth: & so depraued: ꝑ they cõtemned & set at nought ꝑ wordꝫ of Adherball/ eraltig and cõmendyng ꝑ manhode of Jugurth: with laude fauour/ coũtenaunce/ voyce: and all other signes: And so finally they laboured by all maner of meanes for an others mysclieuous voyce and cruell cryme to defende ꝑ same: As yf it had ben i defence of their owne honour/ worshyp/ and honeste. But on the other part a fewe other which set more by iustyce & honeste thã by fall begoten riches: these coũselled to socour Adherball and hamply to punysshe & reuenge ꝑ deth of Hiẽpsall. But among

lus et sanguinem familie nostre tabescere.

¶ Postq̃ rex loquendi finem fecit: legati Iugurthe largitione freti magis q̃ causa paucis respõdent Hiẽpsalem ob seuitiam suam a Numidis interfectum.

Adherbalem vltro bellũ inferentem (postq̃ superatus fit) queri q̃ iniuriam facere nequisset.

Iugurtham ab senatu petere ne se alium putarẽt ac Numãcie cognitus esset: neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.

Deinde vtrinq; a curia digrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: sanctas legatorũ preterea senat' magna pars gñā deprauatā Adherbalis dicta contẽnere: Iugurthe virtutẽ extollere laudibus/ gña/ voce. Denicq; ob' modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio: sua quasi pro glia nitebãtur At cõtra: pauci quib' bonũ et æquũ diuitijs cari' erat subueniendũ Adherbali: et Hiẽpsalis mortem seuere vindicãdam cẽsebãt.

Sed ex oibus maxīs Æmilius Scaur⁹ homo nobilis/impiger/factiosus/auidus potētie/honoris/diuitiarum. Cæterum vitia callide sua occultās. Is postq̄ videt regis largitionem famosā impudētemq; veritus (quod in tali referi solet) ne polluta licentia inuideā, accenderet animā a consuetā libidine continuit: vicit tamen in senatu pars illa que vero pecium aut gratiam anteferebat.

all other of this opynyō: was one named Emilius Scaurus/ a mā of noble lynage redy to dystorbe euery bestyall/debatefull & bely/delirous of power/of authorite/of honoure & riches: but crafty i cloking of these his fautes. Aft this Emilius Scaurus sawe his gyueng of bybes of Jugurth so shamefully & openly knowē: he feared lest ꝑ corruption of ꝑ senatours & heed rulers of Rome myght ingēder enuy/debate/ & slaught bytwene the and ꝑ cōmes lyke as i such cases ofte had fortuned i tymes before. Wherfore i this cōsideration/ he refrayned his mynde at this tyme frō his accustomed vnlaufull lustes. Neuertheles among ꝑ senatours i this counsell ꝑ worst part preuayled: and that part which set more by fauour & rewardes thā by ryght & equyte ouercā the other yt which laboured to sustayne ꝑ right wout any fauour or pcialyte. And so ꝑ fauourers of Jugurth obtayned their purpose/ And his cruelty had no punysshmēt. Neuertheles it was cōcludid & decreed that .v. emballadours shuld be sent into Numidy to deuyde ꝑ kyngdōe which lōged to Micipsa bytwene Jugurth & Adherball. The pricipall of this imballade was one named Lucius Opimi⁹ a man of noble fame/of great authorite & power among ꝑ senato⁹s i those dayes. what tyme Caius Gracchus & Marcus Fului⁹ beyng great fauourers of ꝑ cōmens: were slayne of the noble men of Rome for ꝑ same cause: After victory of ꝑ noble men agaynst the cōmens & the same two princes: this Lucius Opimi⁹ enraged greuously wt rigorous & sharpe iquisycions & examinacyons agaynst ꝑ poze cōmente: And was one of ꝑ chefe oppressers of thē. What tyme this Lucius Opimi⁹ with his cōpany was cōe to Numidy: Jugurth prepared to attēpt his old crafte: And how beit he had founde ꝑ same Lucius for one of his ennemis at Rome neuertheles he receyued him wonderfully & with great diligēce. And wt gyueng & prompting many thinges he brought his purpose so to effect ꝑ this Lucius at cōclusyon preferred ꝑ fauour & profet of Jugurth before his owne good name & fydelyte: & briefly before all thyng/ belōgyng to hymselfe. This brought to passe: anōe he wēt hand wt the other of ꝑ emballadours after ꝑ same way: & many of thē he wan & ouercāe with gyftes. very fewe of thē were: which set more by their fayth & treuth than by money and rewardi of Jugurth. Wherfore whā is was cōe to lymitacion & sepacyon of ꝑ lande of Numidi bytwene Adherball & Jugurth as ꝑ said emballadours were cōmaūded of ꝑ senatours: ꝑ part of the kyngdom which marched toward Mauritany/ or ꝑ lande of the Mau-

Decretum fit vti decē legati regnum quod Micipsa obtinuerat inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem diuiderent: cuius legationis princeps fuit Lucius Opimi⁹; homo clar⁹; et tum in senatu potens; qui cōsulib⁹ Caio Gracchō et Marco fuluio flacco interfectis acerrime nobilitatis victoriā in plebem exercuerat.

Eum Iugurtha tametsi Rome in inimicis habuerat: tamē accuratissime accepit. Dando et pollicēdo multa perfecit vti fame/fidei/postremo omnib⁹ suis rebus cōmodū regis anteferret.

Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus est: pleros q̄ capit. paucis charior fides q̄ pecunia erat.

In diuisiōe regni que ps Numidie Mauritaniam attigit agris virisq; opulētior Iugurthę tradit.

trans beyng moſt opulent & plentyfull of fruytfull fyldes and of men was gyuen to Jugurth: but the other part which was more pleſant than ꝓfytable as ornate without hauyn townes and fayre edyfices: was cõmytted to poſſeſſion of Adherball.

Illam alterã ſpecie pcl orem q̃ vſu: que portuoſ ſior et edificijs magis ex ornata erat: Adherbal poſſedit.

Now for aſmoch as in this hyſtory before & mooſt of all in ſequele & proceſſe of the ſame hath & ſhalbe made mẽcyon of many places & townes of Affrike to thintẽt that thyſtory may be more clere & euydent me thinketh it requiſyte & cõuenyent breſely to deſcribe ꝑ ſytuacion of Affrike: & a lytell to touch thoſe peples & contreis which with ꝑ romayns had at any tyme amite or frẽdſhyp other peace or warr. But ſuche places & natiõs which for heat & wyldernes be lytell frequented of people: or nat inhabyted of them it is nat eaſy to dyſcribe nor declare the treuth for by difficulty of ꝑ places fewe or none reſorteth thider ꝓfetly to knowe ꝑ ſame. But the other partes frequented of people I ſhall as breſely declare as can be touched.

Res poſtulate videtur ſi tum Aphrice pauciſ exponere: et eas gentes qui buſcum nobis bellũ aut amicitia fuit attingere.

Sed que loca et nationes ob caloremet aſperitatẽ inter ſolitudines minus frequenta ſunt: de hijs haud ficile cõpertũ narrauero. Cætera q̃ pauciſſimis abſoluam.

## ¶ The deſcripcion of the habytable ptyes of the countrey of Affrike namely of ſuche nacyons as had amyte or warre with the Romayns.

### ¶ The.xii.chapter.

DIuiſion of the cycle of the worlde the opynion of mooſt writers is: that it is dyuided into thre partes/Europe/Aſy/ and Affrike. A fewe other authours hold opynion: that it is deuyded onely into two partes/ ꝑ is to ſay Aſy & Europe: ſo that vnder clymate of ꝑ part whiche is called Europe: the thirde part named Affrike is cõprehended. But this laſt opynion is leeſt alowed. This contrey of Affrike hath his bondes on ꝑ ſee of Italy on the weſt part/ & on the ocean ſee it abordeth partly on ꝑ ſame ſyde: on ꝑ Eſt part therof is a declynig and pendant valey ryght ample & large. Thinhabytaũtes of this valey call it Cathabathmon i their affrike langage: that is to ſay in engliſſh a depẽdant valey. On this Eſt ſyde: ꝑ ſee is outragyous/curell/pylous/ & without any ſure hauen: but the fyld & ſoyle on this part ar plẽtyfull of corne: & for all maner beeſtes is good paſture/ but ꝑ ſoyle nor groũde is nat apt to trees beryng frute: of water is ſcarcite/both of rayne water and of water ſpryngyng of the erth. The dyſpocityon of ꝑ peple is holſome of body/ lwyft/ & may well endure labour. In ſo

¶ In diuiſione orbis terre pleriq; in parte tertia Aphricam poſuere: pauci tantũmodo Aſiã et Europã eſſe: ſed Aphricam in Europa.

Ea fines habet ab occidẽte fretum noſtri maris et oceani.

Ab ortu ſolis decimẽ latitudinẽ: quem locũ Catabathmõ incole appellãt. Mare ſeuũ impertuoſũ: ager frugũ fertilis bonus pecori: arbori infecũdus: celi terreq; penuria aquarum.

Genus hominũ ſalubri corpore/ velox/ patiẽs labor: pleroſque ſenectus

dissoluit: nisi qui ferro aut lesijs interiere. Nā haud morb⁹ sepe quemq̄ superat. Adhoc malitici generis plurima gialia. Sed qui mortales in initio Aphricā habuere: qui q; postea accesserint: aut quō inter se permixti sit (quamq̄ ab ea fama que plerosque obtinet diuersum est) tum vti ex libris punicis qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur. interpretatum nobis est: vtiq; rem sese habere cultores eius terre putant: q̄ paucissimus dicam. Cæterū fides eius penes authores erit. Aphricam habuere i initio Getuli et Lybes: asperi/ incultiq; quibus cibus erat caro ferina: atque humi pabulum vti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus/ neq; lege/ aut imperio cuiusq̄ regebātur: vagi/ palantes/ quo nox coegerat sedes habebāt. Sed postquā in Hispania Hercules (sicuti Aphri putāt interijt: exercitus eius cōpositus ex varijs gētibus amisso duce: ac passi multis sibi impium petētib⁹ breue dilabit. Ex eo numero Medi/ Persee et Armenianib⁹ in Aphricā transiecti proximos nro mari locos occupauere. Sed pse intra magis occeanū. Hiq; alueos nauiū inuersos proturiijs habuere. Quia neq; materia in agris: neq; ab Hispanis emēdi: aut mutādi copia erat: mare magnū et ignara lingua cōmertia prohibebant.

moche that ꝑ moost part dye for extreme age/ saue suche as be slayne with weppn/ or deuoured of wyld beestes. For it is often sene that corruption of humours ingendring any infyrmite bringeth any to deth. In this countrey be also many rauynous beestes and of dyuers kyndes deuouring all thyng whiche they may ouercome. But this omityng I wyll nowe briefely declare what maner of people first of all inhabyted this cōtrey of Affryke/ and what people thyther resorted to inhabyte next after them. And how the same peples were myngled togider. Howbeit that which I shall write is moche dyuers from the cōmen fame and opynion of many mē: neuertheles I shall folowe ꝑ bokes written in Affryke langage which (as it is sayd) belonged to the yonge prince Hiempsall: whom Jugurth murdred. In the same bokes I shall folowe the true interpretacion in this mater/ alyke as the inhabytaūtes of the same cōtrey affirme to be true. But to whyng the very credence of ꝑ treuth of the mater I report that to ꝑ authours. The first peple which inhabyted the countrey of Affryke were named Getulyans/ and Lybeans/ people/ hard/ sharpe/ and vnmanerd. These lyued on the flesshe of wylde beestes: and fedde vpon ꝑ ground as beestes vnreasonable. And were nat ruled by any maners/ but lyued without lord or lawes/ as vagabūdes and rouers. They had no certayne bydyng places/ but where as ꝑ night toke thē: there they rested for the tyme. But after ꝑ Hercules dyed in Hispayne: as ꝑ Affrycans say: his army which was assembled of dyuers natyons/ whan their captayne and heed was lost: dispersed themselfe abrode anone after his deth and came to dyuers places of the worlde to seke their fortune where they might optayne any habytacion or lordshyppe. Of whiche company/ the Medeans/ Perseans/ and Armenyans arryued with their shyppes in that coost of Affryke/ whiche was nerest to the empyre of Rome: And long tyme after occupyed those coostes. But the Perseans inhabyted them selfe more in warde in the cōtrey towarde the occean see: and in stede of houses they tourned their shyppes botomes vpwarde and dwelled vnder the same. And no maruayle/ for in the countre about them grewe no tymber nor other stuffe mete to bylding Nor of the spanyardes which inhabyted next to them neyther might they bye nor borowe. For the see was so great and tempestous betwene thē: and their langages so dyuers & vnknowen to eyther peple/ ꝑ by these two impedymentes they were letted frō the cours of marchandyse or exchanges betwen thē.

Thele Perſyens by meane of mariages by lytell & lytell me-
gled the Getulyans with the/ and byeause they proued ofte ty-
mes the comodyte of their grounde & feldes by often comutac-
ons and chaūgynges one with other at laſt they named them-
ſelfe Numidyās/ that is to ſay herdmen deuyded. And to this
preſent day the cotages or tylmens houſes/ be made longe w
croked ſydes or couertures bowyng inwarde as if they were
helpes of ſhippes trāſpoſed or turned vp ſet downe. To wchin
ge the Medeans & Armenyns they ioyned themſelfe with the
Libyēs. For thele Medeans & Armenians dwelled before mo
re nere to the ſee of Affrike. The Getulyans inhabyted more
nere to ꝑ ſon ryſyng: nat farre frō the feruent coūtrey of Inde
and this people anone had townes & dwelling places: for the
ſee betwene them & Hiſpayne was but narowe/ wherfore thei
agreed with the Hiſpaniardes to make exchanges & barrtyn-
ges of marchandyſe with them. The Libiens corrupted their
name by lytell and lytell changyng ꝑ ſame/ and at laſt in ſtede
of Medyens named themſelfe Mauriens by barbarike pronū-
ciacyon of their langage. But the welth and riches of the Per
ſiens i ſhorte tyme increaſed/ and multiplyed. Inſomoch that
after they had named themſelfe Numidyans/ they increaſed
in ſo great multytude: that their firſt coūtrey was nat able to
nory ſhe them all: ſo that afterwarde many of the yong and
luſty people departed in ſundery from their frendes & lafte their
coūtrey reſortynge to a coūtrey nere the tyte of Carthage/
vacant at that tyme/ In which countrey they inhabyted them
ſelfe and named it Numidy after their name. Shortely after
this both they which remayned ſtyll in they firſt coūtrey and
theſe which remoued thens/ aſſyſted one an other with all ma-
ner of helpe and ſocours. Inſomoch ꝑ they what by ſtrength
and what by fear brought vnder their ſubiectyon and domy-
nion ſuche other natyons as marched nere them: ſo that with
in ſhorte tyme they moche inhaunced and augmeted their na-
me & glory/ but moſt namely they which inhabyted ꝑ part of
Affryke which is ouer agaynſt Italy/ and here ꝑ Italyan ſee
theſe moſt increaſed in welth and honour. For the Lybeans
were nat ſo good men of warre as the Getulyans/ or Numy-
dians. And ſo all the inwarde part of Affrike was for ꝑ moſte
part in poſſeſſion of the Numidyans/ and ſo moch dyd they:
that all the natyons of them ſubdued were called Numidyās
after the name of ouercomers. Now we haue we declared howe
the Getulians & Libyās were firſt inhabytaūces of Affrike: &

Hi paulatim per cōnubia Getulos ſecum miſcuere. Et quia ſepe tētantes agros: alia/deide alia loca petiuerant: ſemetipſi Numidias appellauere: Cæterum adhuc edificia Numidarum que aggeſtiū mappalia illi vocāt oblonga/curuis laterib⁹ tecta: quaſi nauium cati ne ſint. Medi autē et Armeni acceſſere Lybes. Nam hi mare propius Aphricū agitabant. Getuli ſub ſole magis haud procul ab ardoribus: hique mature oppida habuere: nam freto diuiſi ab Hiſpania mutare res inter ſe conſtituerant. Nomē eorum paulatim Lybes corrupere: barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Perſarum breui adoleuit: ac poſtea nomine Numide propter multitudinem domi minuendam/ gratia a parentib⁹ digreſſi: poſſidere ea loca que proxime Carthaginē Numidia appellat. Deinde vtrique alteris freti finitimos armis/ aut metu ſub imperiū ſuū coegere: nomen/ gloriamque ſibi addidere: magis hi qui ad noſtrum mare proceſſerant: quia Libes q̄ Getuli min⁹ erāt bellicoſi. Deinde Aphrice pars inferior pleraque a Numidis poſſeſſa eſt victi omnes in gentē nomenque imperantium conceſſere.

how the Perleans/ Medeans/ and Armenyans came afterwarde and ioyned with them. How the Perleans named theselfe Numydyans. And ỳ Medeans and Armenyans by corruptyon of langage were called Maurysans. And so we consequently Ishall declare what other people came after and inhabyted the same lande of Affryke. After all these natyons before reherced: out of the lande of Albenyce came moche people to inhabyte theselfe in Affryke. Some because their owne countrey was nat suffycient to sustayne so great a multytude as were of them. And other some great men of wyth and desyrous of lordshyppe raysed vp and assembled the moste comen people and left their owne countrey: in hope to fynde some other gretter dominion els where: and in processe of tyme arryued at the lande of Affryke: and there bylded thre cyties vpon the see coost named Hyppona/ Adrymentū and Leptis: with other dyuers cyties: but nat so great: famous as these were. These cyties in shorte tyme were so augmented and increased that some of them were honored/ and some were socoured & ayde to their owyginall countreis. But of the cyte of Cartage which also by them was bylyed: and after warde became the heed cyte of Affryke: me thynke it better to passe ouer with scylence: than of it to speke a lytell and than to leue ỳ matter in the myddes vnparfet: and also this my bokys procedeth to an other purpose. Neuertheles somwhat shall I touche the fyrst foundatyon of this cyte of Carthage nat folowyng in ỳe authour Salust: which wryteth nothyng therof: but folowyng the opynion of Uergyll as he wryteth in the fyrst boke of Eneas.

¶ The quene Dydo doughter of Belus kyng of the lande of Cypre and wyfe to Sycheus kynge of Albenyce: fledde with her shyppes laden with golde & other ryches out of her owne countreye dredyng ỳ cruelty of her brother Pygmalian: which blynded by couetyse and ambycion had slayne her housbande Sicheus by treason. This Dido at last aryued with her shippes & company at the coost of Affryke/ where raygned a kyng named Hierbas: which moued with beaute of Dydo desyred her to wyfe. But she for loue which she had to her fyrst housbande Sycheus wolde nat consent therto by any meanes: but desyred to bye of the same kyng Hierbas as moche grounde as she myght cõpasse about with a hyde of a bull. And after ỳt was graunted/ she cutte the hyde of a bull so small that with the same she compased thre myle of grounde in compasse. In which space aforesayde she bylded a cyte: which fyrst was named Byrsa. After

Postea Phenices alij multitudinis domi minuende gratia: pars cupidine imperij solicitata plebe: et alij nouarum rerum auidi: Hiponem/ Adrumētum/ Leptim: aliasq; vrbes in ora maritima condidere.

Hæque breui multum aucta: pars originibus suis presidio: alie decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto q̄ parū dicere: quoniam alio properare tempus admonet.

¶ Hec tū ex Marone tū ex Seruio reliquisq; probis auctoribus sunt excerpta.

ſa. After in proces of tyme it was called Tyros: and laſt of all it was called Carthage/ vnder which name by long contynuance ſoo amply it encreaſed in fame & welth: that contayned. xxiiii. myles in compaſſe. But whan it was in mooſt excellence it was vtterly diſtroyed by ꝑ romayns Publius Scipio affrycane that tyme beyng capitayne of ꝑ romayns army. Touchyng ꝑ foundacion of this famous cite of Carthage/ ſomoch haue I written more than myne authour Saluſt. But nowe wyll I returne to myne inſtitute & purpoſe concernyng the deſcriptyon of Affrike/ and briefely bring it to cõcluſion. The valey of whom I ſpake before named in affryke langage Cathabathmon/ deuydeth the countrey of Affrike from Egypt on ꝑ ſyde ſaue ꝑ an arme of the ſee is betwene ꝑ firſt cyte or habytacyon of Affrike toward this valey is called Cyrene. And nere to the ſame be other two cites/ ꝑ one named Tolonia: ꝑ other Thercon: beyond theſe thre cytees be two quickſãdes/ and by twene bothe the ſandes a cyte named Leptis. Beyond this cyte of Leptis/ is a place named of the romayns Phylenorũ are in englyſſhe: the auters of two brethern called Phylenis/ bycauſe theſe two brethern ſuffred themſelfe to be quycke buryed in the ſame place for the cõmen wele of their contrey: whereof thyſtory hereafter ſhalbe written at more oportunyte. This place dyuideth the domynion of Carthage from Egypt on ꝑ ſyde. After this place on the ſyde coſtes be other cytees belonging to the domynion of Punyke. All the places from thens forthe to Mauritany or lande of the Mauriens/ be vnder ſubiectyon of the Numidyans. The Mauriens haue their habytacion nere to Hiſpayn. But as we rede: the Getulyans haue their habytacion beyond the Numidyans: ſome in poore lodgys: And ſome other more vtterly without habytacion wandring as vagabundes. Beyond theſe Getulyans is the lande of Ethyope: and from thens forth be contrees ſo brent with feruour of the ſonne that they be inhabytable. But durynge this batayle betwene the romayns & Jugurth: the Romayns had in their poſſeſſion many townes of Punyke and moche of the coſtes of thempyre of Carthage: and ruled ꝑ ſame by officers vnder them thertto alligned. A great part of Numidy & of the Getulyans vnto a flodde named Mulucham: was vnder domynion of Jugurth. Ouer all ꝑ Mauriãs raygned one kyng named Bocchus: of whom ꝑ romayns had no knowlege ſaue of his name onely. And before this batayle he was nother in peace nor in warre acquaynted nor knowen of the romayns.

Igitur ad Catabathmon (qui locus Egyptum ab Affrica diuidit ſecundo mari) prima habitacio Cirenes: Tolonia: Thercon: ac deinde due ſunt Syrtes: inter quas Leptis: Deinde Philenorum are: quem locum Egyptũ verſus finem imperij habuere Carthaginenſes.

Poſt alie punice vrbes. cætera loca vſq; ad Mauritaniam Numidę tenẽt proxime Hiſpaniã Mauri ſunt.

Supra Numidiam Getulos accepim⁹: partim in tugurijs: alios incultius Vagos agitare. Poſt eos Ethiopas eſſe.

Igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex punicis oppidis et fines Carthaginenſium: quos nouiſſime habuerat populus Romanus ꝑ magiſtratus administrabat. Getulorũ magna pars et Numidię vſq; ad flumen Muluchã ſub Iugurtha erat. Mauris olim imperabat rex Bocch⁹ preter nomen pri-

Of affrike & of thinhabytaũtes of the same: ynough is spoken and almoch as is requysite of necessyte to the procesle of this hystory. Now wyll I make regression and prosecute my first purposed mater inlurynge myne authour Salust.

## ¶ How Jugurth inuaded the kyngdome of Adherball yet ones agayne: and how Adherball agayne was ouercome in batayle: & put to flyght. ¶ The.xiii. chapter.

After the emballadours of Rome: of whõ I haue spoken before: had dyuided the realme of Numidy betwene Adherball & Jugurth/ and were departed out of Affrike to warde Rome: anone Jugurth remembred in mynde how he escaped vnpunysshed for his cruelty otherwyse than his mynde feared before: And how in stede of punysshmẽt: for his synne: he was rewarded with the better part of the lande of Numidy. Now he consydred in mynde ỹ all was true which his frendes had told hym before whyle he was in Hilpayne with ỹ romayne army in the warre of Numance: that is to say. That nothynge is so false & vntrust: but ỹ may be iustifyed at Rome for money/ for althynge might be bought there for money. This cõsyderation inhaũced his mynde vnto asperance & that nat a lytell. Forthermore he was inflamed with the large pmelles of them: whom he had acloyed before with gyftes & rewardes at Rome. In somoch that agayne of newe he fired his mynde to inuade & vsurpe the kyngdome of Adherball/ and by some point of prodycion to take hym in trap as he had done Hiẽpsall his brother before. This Jugurth was fiers/ sharpt/ & apt to warr/ well inured with ỹ same & expert in feates therof: but cõtrarely Adherball: whom he assayled & pursued: was a mete man & opportune to take iniury/ more ferefull & dredyng other: than to be feared of any man. Wherfore sodenly: & without any prouision on party of Adherball: Jugurth inuaded ỹ marches of his kyngdom/ with a great power & multytude of men of armes/ many of thinhabytaũtes he murdred: & many toke he prisoners with beestes & all other maner of prayes/ robbig & spoyling/ euery where: as fare as his army dyspled/ townes castels/ & other dyffices he brent & beat downe: and many other

eætera ignarꝰ populo romano itẽque neque pace neq; bello ante cognitus erat. De Aphrica et de eiusdem incolis ad necessitudinẽ rei satis dictũ est.

¶ Postq̃ autem dulso regno legati ab Aphrica discessere: et Iugurtha cõtra animi timorẽ premia sceleris adeptum sese vidit: certũ esse ratꝰ quod ex amicis apud Numãtiam acceperat: omnia Rome venalia esse: simul et illorum pollicitationibꝰ accensus: quos paulo ante numeribꝰ expleuerat: in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit.

Ipse acer/ bellicosus. At is quem petebat: quietus imbellis/ placido ingenio/ opportunus iniurie/ metuẽs magis q̃ metuẽdus. Igitur Iugurtha ex improuiso eius fines cũ magna manu inuasit: multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia preda capit: edificia incẽdit: plerasque loca hostiliter cum equitatu petit.

places he assayled and inuaded more lwardly in ꝑ contrey by excourses of his horsmen. This done he returned into his cõtre with all his multytude/ prayes/ & prisoners: supposyng ꝑ Adherball moued with angre and displeasure wold reuenge these iniures: and that thyng shuld be cause & occasion of open warre betwene them. But Adherball aduysed hymselfe well: by remembrance of his first batell had with Jugurth ꝑ he was nat able to cõtend with hym in batayle nor in force of armes: and moreouer: he had more confidence and trust in frendshyp of the Romayns than in the incõstant Numidyans/ which leaned more to his ennemy than to hym. These thynges consydred he send embassadours to Jugurth to cõplayn of these iniures: But these embassadours had nought els of hym but cõtumelyous/ proude/ and hasty wordes. And dyspised of Jugurth returned agayn to their lorde Adherball: though suche answers might haue moued any corragious hert: neuertheles Adherball determyned in mynde: to suffre all thynges & to take many iniures inpatiẽce: rather than agayn to begyn batayle with Jugurth. For (as sayd is) ꝑ batayle foughten before betwene them was both to his dishonour/ & also great dãmage. But for all this sufferance of Adherball: ꝑ mynde of Jugurth was nat more pacified: nor lessed of his cruelte. The patience of Adherball abated nat the yre of Jugurth: but it augmẽted for all redy he had cõcluded in mynde to inuade ꝑ hole kyngdõe of Numidy. Therfore he began agayn of newe: nat as before with a cõpany of reuers/ but with a mighty & great army assembled togyder demeanyng open warre/ and chalangyng openly the hole empyre of Numidy/ and with such power proceded into the land of Adherball: wastyng the townes & fyldes on euery syde/ dryuyng away with his prayes of catell & other riches: and increasyng corage to his men/ and dred to his ennemis. Whan Adherball sawe it was come to that poynt that he moste nedes ẽther abandon & gyue ouer his kyngdome: or els mentayn it with force of armes/ as he which was cõstrayned by extreme necessite: he assembled & empareyled an army aswell as he myght/ and with the same proceded forth to mete Jugurth. At last the two hoostes of Adherball/ & of Jugurth approched & rested nere togyder/ beside a towne named Cyrtha/ nat fery dystant from the see coost: And for asmoch as the day drewe nere to nyght: ꝑ batayle was nat anone begon: but eyther party remayned in their tẽtes. Anon after moche of the nyght was ouerpassed: and ꝑ starre lyght somwhat dymmed

Deinde cũ omnium multitudine in regnum suũ cõuertit: existimans Adherbalem dolore priotũ iniurias suas vindicaturum eamq; rem belli causam fore. At ille: q̃ nec se parem armis existimabat: et amicitia populi romani magis q̃ Numidis fretus erat: legatos ad Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerunt prius tñ omnia pati decreuit q̃ bellũ sumere: quia tentatum ante secus cesserat.

Neque eo magis cupido Iugurthę minuebatur.

Quippe qui totũ regnũ e ius animo iam inualerat Itaque non vti ante cum predatoria muna: sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere cepit: et a parte toti⁹ imperiũ Numidię petere: cæterũ qua pgebat: vrbes/ agros vastare: predas agere: suis animum: hostibus terrorẽ augere. Adherbal vbi intellexit eo processum: vti regnum aut relinquẽdum esset: aut armis retinendum: necessario copias parat et Iugurthę obuius procedit. Interim haud longe amari prope Cirtham opidũ vtriusq; exercitus cõcedit et quie

dici extremum erat: prelium non est inceptū: sed vbi plurimum noctis processit: obscuro etiam tūc lumine: milites Jugurthini signo dato castra hostium inuadunt: semisōnos partim alios sumētes arma: fugant: funduntq;. Adherbal cū paucis equitibus Cirthā profugit: & ni multitudo togatorū fuisset: que Numidas insequentes menibus prohibit: vno die inter duos reges ceptum atq; patratum bellum foret. Jugurtha opidum circūsedit. Veniēs: turribusq; et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur: maxime festinans tempus legatorum ante capere quos ante preliū factum ab Adherbale romam missos audiuerat.

¶ Sed postq̄ senatus de bello eorū accepit: tres adolescētes i Aphricam legantur: qui ambos reges adeāt senatus populique romani vrbis nūcient censere: et velle: eos armis discedere: ita seq; illisque dignum esse. Legati in Aphricam maturantes veniūt: eo magis q̄ Rome: quū proficisci

with obscurite of clowdes. The soudiours of Jugurth rayshd by the sounde of trumpetz/ vnwarly and sodenly inuaded & assayled the tentes and felde of Adherball: some they murdred on halfe sleppynge: and other some they slewe whyle they were in hand to arme themselfe. On part of Adherball was pytefull murdred: and on syde of Jugurth no mercy/ but abhimat persecution & vengeaūce: and so fiersly fought Jugurth & his cōpany that shortly Adherball fled to the towne of Cyrtha/ acōpanyed with a fewe horsmen. But Jugurth pursued hym so nerely that if ꝑ inhabytauntes of the town of Cirtha in hast & with great multytude had nat receyued Adherball: and with force of armes defended the walles/ & kept forth the soudyours of Jugurth which pursued Adherball: the bataple betwen them bothe shuld haue ben begon & ended that one same day/ & that to destruction of Adherball. But Jugurth perceyuing ꝑ entre into the town denyed to hym/ anon beseged it on euery syde w̄ all maner ingens inuasyue to his ennemies/ and defensyue to his cōpany: he caused hastely to be framed large pauases and towres of tymbre to be dryuē vpon wheles toward ꝑ walles of the town. And w̄ these & almaner other ingens wēt in hand fiersly to assayle ꝑ town: & somoch more hastely he sped hym to thitent to bring his purpose to effect/ before or any embassadours shold cōe frō Rome to resyst his interprise. For almoch as before this bataple he had hard ꝑ Adherball had send embassadours to Rome to certify ꝑ senatours of his mysserable state.

¶ How ꝑ fauourers of Jugurth at Rome laboured so in this cause ꝑ thre yong men inexpert and without policy were send embassadours into Affrike to cesse this stryfe betwene ꝑ two kynges: and how these embassadours retourned to Rome wout any thyng done. ¶ The .xiiii. chapter.

BAt after the senatours of Rome hard tidynges of this bataple they send into Affrike thre yong gētylmen in embassade cōmaūding thē to go to both the kinges/ & to cōmaund thē in behalfe of ꝑ senatours & of ꝑ hole peple of Rome to cesse their warre: and to shewe thē that the senate & Romays wylled & vtterly cōmaūded thē so to do. For in so doyng: they shuld do as it semed thē: and as of cōgruence they ought to do both for pleasur of the Romayns & for their owne honour and profet.

pzofet. The emballadours with ſuch cõmaundmẽt haſted thẽ and came tymely into Affrike/ ꝓ ſenatours had cõmaũded thẽ to make ſomoch moze expedycion in their iourney/ bycauſe ty dynges were bzought to Rome/ whan theſe emballadours ꝓpared theſelfe foz ward: how the batell was done bytwene Adherball & Jugurth/ and how Jugurth kept Adherbal beſegid ſtraytly within ꝓ towne of Cyzrha. But this rumour was ſõ what a layd & kept vnder by fauourers of Jugurth/ after theſe emballadours were come to Numidy: they etpzeſſed to Jugurth theffect of their emballade in fozme as ꝓ ſenatours had cõmaunded thẽ. Whan Jugurth vnderſtode ꝓ pleſour of the ſenatours by their wozdes & emballade: he anſwered beninge ly ſayng ꝓ he counted no erthly thyng moze great/ noz erellẽt/ noz moze dere vnto him than ꝓ authozite of the ſenatours and peple of Rome: & that frõ his yougth to that tyme he had euer ſo indeuozed to ozder hiſelfe ꝓ euery good & wozſhypfull man cõmended & alowed hym foz his vertu & manhode/ and nat foz malyce noz myſdemeauour. And foz the ſame manlynes & nat foz malycious dedȝ/ noz foz diſozdzed maners his cõpany & cõuerſation was accept & pleſant vnto ꝓ right hygh & wozthy ca ptayne Publius Scipio. Mozeouer: foz ꝓ ſame cõuerſation and good maners & nat foz faute of chyldzen naturall: his vn cle Miciꝑſa had adopted hym to ſon: & made hym inheritour of his kyngdom/ ꝑtyner with his owne naturall ſõnes: & foz aſmoch as he had demeaned hiſelfe rightwell & wozthely in er ecutyng of many high & glozious interꝑiſes: ſomoch the leſſe coude he ſuffre iniury done vnto hym vnreuẽged. As touchig Adherball this Jugurth allegid foz himſelfe ꝓ this Adherball bygile & treaſon lay in wayt to ſlee hym: which thyng after he ꝓcepued: he made reſyſtence agaynſt ꝓ ſame to the beſt of his power: as any man was bound to do foz ſauegard of his own lyfe. And yf ꝓ romayns wold ꝓhybit & denȝ that vnto hym/ which Juſtice ymytteth to euery man ꝓ is/ with vyolence to reſiſt and repell vyolence: than ſhuld thay neyther do well noz right wyſely in that behalfe. Whan Jugurth had anſwered ꝓ emballadours after this maner: than ſayd he foz concluſion ꝓ ſhoztly after he wold ſend emballadours to certify ꝓ ſenato'rs of all other thinges cõcerning this beſynes: and on this poynt Jugurth & the emballadours depted in ſander. This Adher ball had no conſoꝛt noz lycence to reply agaynſt the wozdes of Jugurth noz light oz cõmunication with the emballadours: all onely was it grauted vnto hym to appele to ꝓ court of Rome/ foz of theſe emballadours coude he haue/ no iuſtyce/ noz dyze

patant: de prelio facto & oppugnatione Cirthę an diebatur.

Sed rumor clemẽs erat: Quorum Iugurtha acce pta oratione reſpondit: ſibi neque magis quicq̃/ neque charius authori tate ſenatus eſſe: ab ado leſcentia ita ſe enixũ: vt ab optio quoq; probaret.

Virtute: nõ malitia Pub lio Scipioni ſummo viro placuiſſe: ob eaſdẽ artis a Micipſa nõ penuria li berorum in regnum ad optatum eſſe.

Cæterum q; pleraque bñ atque ſtremue feciſſet: eo aim ſuum iniuriam mi nus tollerare. Adherbal lem doloris vitæ ſuæ inſi diatum eſſe: quod vbi cõ piſſet: ſceleri obuiã iſſe.

Populum romanum neq; recte/ neque pro bono fa ctorum: ſi a iure gẽtium ſeſe prohibuerit.

Poſtremo de omibus re bus legatos Romam bre ui miſſurum. Ita vtrique dicteduntur.

Adherbali modo fuit ap pellandi copia.

Iugurtha vbi eos Aphrica discessisse ratus est neque propter loci naturã armis expugnare Cirthã potest: vallo atque fossa menia circundat. turres extruit: easq; presidijs firmat.

ctyon/ in his intiures/ and persecutyon. Whan Jugurth thought that themballadours were passed out of the laude of Affrike/ towarde Rome: And whan he sawe that with force of armes he coude nat wynne the towne of Cyrtha/ for bycause of naturall situacyon and dyfficulte of ꝑ place. Anon he besiged the town agayn of newe and all dyfficultes natwithstãdyng/ he made a profound & depe trench rounde about ꝑ town with sharpe stakes and payles stycked on highest part of the same trenches with sharpe pykes on their vpper endes. This dyde Jugurth for many consideratyons: first to thyntent that the inhabytantes shulde nat breke forth of the towne sodenly at any syde vpon any part of his soudyours which besiged them. Secondly to thintent ꝑ on no part any vitayles shuld be brought into them. Thirdly that the men of warre within the towne shulde nat thrust forth without the town: the multytude of poore cõmens in tyme of fampn and scarcyte of vytayls. And fourthly: that no socours shuld entre into thẽ to rescue the towne nor to supply their garnyson. Whã this trench was made & fynysshed Jugurth moreouer made strong bulwarkes & towres of tymbre without the towne: & strengthed the same with garnyson of wyght and bolde men of armes. Besyde all these ordynaũces he left nothyng vnasayed: nother spared he to attempt euery thyng by strength nor by treson & gyle. Sõtyme he proued ꝑ watchmẽ & defenders of the walles with gyftes excityng thẽ to betray the towne. Whan his rewardes auayled nought than he thretned them with fiers & sharpe wordes: he inhaunced by exortacions the myndes & courages of his own men to manlynes and audacite. And so he aplyed his besynes that nothyng he omytted wont or possyble to be done in suche a case/ nor no ingen of warre laft he vnprouyded which i those dayes was contryued or founde: but rather besyde all olde inuentyons he ymagined and deuysed newe ingens and ordynaunces of warre nat sene before that tyme: and all for dystruction of the towne of Cyrtha. And of Adherball whom he besyged within ꝑ same. But what tyme Adherball consydred his fortune come to extremyte on all parts/ he kest many thynges in mynde. On the one syde he preyued his enmy Jugurth vyolent agaynst hym: & no treuft of cõfort nor of socours. On the other syde he consydred well/ that for penury & want of soudyours and of their thinges necessary he was nat able nother to fyght with his enmy: nor to dryue forth or prolong the batell: and for faute of vytayle he myght nat long defend the towne. These thynges with many mo well reuolued in mynde/ he

Preterea dies noctesque aut per vim: aut dolis tẽtare: defensoribus mœnium præmia modo: modo formidinem ostẽtare suos hortando ad virtutem erigere prorsus intẽtus cuncta parare.

At vbi Adherbal intelligit omnes fortunas suas in extremo sitas: hostem infestum: auxilij spẽ nullam penuria necessarium rerum bellum trahi non posse: ex his qui vna Cirthã profugerant duos maxime impigros delegit: eos multa polli-

chose

chose forthe two which were moost dilygent and trusty of that company which had fled with hym into Cirtha. To them he wofully bewayled his mysfortune: and made so large promyses of rewardes vnto them: that at last he induced them to go forthe of the towne by nyght prively/ and if they myght escape their ennemies/ to resort to the next hauyn towne: And from thens to hast them to Rome with letters which he had deuysed and written to be delyuerd to the senatours. These messãgers were trusty and faythfull/ within fewe dayes without any disturbance: they fulfylled the cõmaundement of their soueraygne/ and delyuerd the letters of Adherball vnto the senatours. Which letters anone were redde in the counselhous before the senatours and rulers of Rome: of which letters the sentence herafter insueth and was suche.

cendo/ ac miserando casum suum cõfirmat: vti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare: deinde Romã pgerẽt.

Numidę paucis diebus iussa efficient.

Litere Adherbalis in senatu recitate sunt: quarum sententia hec erat.

## ¶ The sentence of the letters sent frõ Adherball vnto the senatours of Rome: what tyme he lay besyged by Jugurth withi the towne of Cirtha. ¶ The.xv. chapter.

MOost worthy fathers it is nat through my faute that I sende so often to you requiryng your socours/ and cõplayning myne injures: but ꝑ violence and rygour of Jugurth/ cõpelleth me therto. Whose mynde is fylled with so great a lust and desyre to berave my life: ꝑ neyther hath he in mynd the drede of goddes punyshment/ nor fear of your displesure. My blode he coueyteth more than all thinges: In somoch that nowe is the first moneth sith I am kept closed/ & besiged with armed men/ by tyranny of Jugurth. He nothyng regardyng that I am cõfederate felowe and frende of the peple of Rome. Neyther can preuayle nor helpe ꝑ great benifites of my fader Micipsa done to this Jugurth/ nor your authorite nor ordynaunces or decrees. Thus I am vncertayn whyther I am cõstrayned & oppressed more greuously by force of armes or by hunger/ for both inuironeth me on all sydes/ I wold write vnto you more touchyng ꝑ tyrannous cruelte of Jugurth but my miserable fortune moueth me contrary: and moreouer I haue often preued before this tyme: that small credence is gyuen to suche as ar oppressed with mysery: Saue this I y-

¶ Nõ mea culpa sepe ad vos oratũ mitto patres cõscripti: sed vis Iugurthę subegit: quem tanta libido extiguẽdi me inuasit: vt neq; vos/ neque deos immortales in aio habeat. sanguinem meũ q̃ oia malit. Itaq; iã quitum mensem socius et amicus populi romani armis obsessus teneor: neq; Micipsa patris mei beneficia: neq; vestra decreta auxilii ãptur. Eerro an fame actius vrgear incertus sum.

Plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea: etiam ante experrus sum parum fidei miseris esse.

Nisi tamen intelligo illum supra q̃ ego sum petere. Neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare vtrũ grauius existimet nemini occultum est.

Nã in initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meũ. Deinde patrio regno me expulit. Que sane fuerit nr̃e iniurie: nihil ad vos. Verum nunc regnum armis tenet. Me quem vos impatorem numidis posuistis clausum obsidet: legatorum verba quãtifecerit: pericula mea declarant.

Quid reliquum nisi vis vestra qua moueri possit Nam ego quidẽ vellem hẽc que scribo & illa que antea in senatu questus sum vana forent: potius q̃ miseria mea fidem vobis faceret: sed quoniam in eo natus sũ: vt Iugurthę scelerum ostentui essem. Non iam mortẽ nec erumnas tantũmodo impium inimici et cruciat⁹ corporis depcor. Regno Numidię patres cõscripti quod vestrum est: vtilibus consulite me manibus ab impijs eripite

cepue clerely ꝑ the mynde of Jugurth coueyteth greter thyng than my deth or kyngdom. And if by your sufferance: he shall subdue me & beraue my kyngdom/ at last he shall ryse & rebell agaynst your empyre. Wherfore if ye lyst nat to defende & socour my lyfe: at leest: defend your kyngdom of Numidy/ and preuent ꝑ vsury of your empyre. Suffre nat this tyran to enioye ꝑ kyngdom of Numidy/ & your good wyll withall. But truely ye may well pceyue ꝑ he loketh nat after your fauoure/ after he shall haue vsurped ꝑ realm of Numidy. But whyder he setteth lesse by losse of your frendshyp & fauour/ or of ꝑ domynion of Numidy: non is so blynde but ꝑ may eyudẽtly pceyue the trouth. For his dedes declare: ꝑ he counteth lesse greuous to haue your hy displesure/ than to lose his fiers purpose to sle me/ and than to ocupy ꝑ hole lande of Numidy. For this hath he proued and made manifest by his vnnaturall & cruell ded: first of all he hath slayn my brother Hiempsall: which dede he durst nat haue done if he had feared your displeasure: nert ꝑ: he droue me forth of my contrey & fathers kyngdõe. But these iniures for certayne/ were done agaynst my brother and me: and nothyng they longes to you. But now we he cõspyreth hyer inuadyng/ vsurpyng/ and wastyng the hole land of Numidy with force of armes. And whey as ye set me as your lewtenãt vnder you to gouern a part of Numidy. This Jugurth now hath dryuen me from my lyberte into ꝑ towne of Cyrtha/ & besygeth me with mẽ of armes closed on all sydes with outward drede & inward fampn: So ꝑ my perpis may playnly declare how lytell he setteth by ꝑ wordes of your embassadours. Certaynly I can se nothyng remayning able to remoue his violence/ nor ꝑ can socour this my misery/ saue onely your power and violẽce. For soth I wold right gladly: ꝑ these thyng/ whi che now I write to you/ & all those thyng/ which I haue cõpyplayned before in the counselhouse were but fayned & false/ rather than this my eyudẽt misery shuld proue thẽ true & credyble vnto you. But sith I was borne in ꝑ hour/ & my destyny is such ꝑ Jugurth moost manifest his cursed cruelte by me/ therfore now my request nor prayr is nat ꝑ I may escape ꝑ sharpnes & cruelte of miserable deth/ which I behold iust & inuytable but only my prair is ꝑ I may escape ꝑ long subiection & bõdage of my enmy & prolõged turment/ of my miserable body. But worthy faders: touchig ꝑ kyngdõe of Numidy/ which apperteyneth to you: puide you for ꝑ as it apperteyneth you/ & if it be yor̃ plesure: tyd & delyuer me frõ the cruell & vnmercyful hand/ of Jugurth

of Jugurth my moſt all enmy for ꝓ honour & mageſte of poule empyre and for ꝓ fidelyte of all frenſhypp. ꝓfaip remembraunce of my grandfather. Wall in ſilla remayneth yet among you.

¶ How the ſenatours ſende newe embaſſadours to Jugurth cõmaundyng him to deſyſt frõ priecution of Adherball: & how they prevayled nothyng: how the towne of Cyrtha was yelded to Jugurth: & how he ſlewe Adherball. ¶ The. xvi. chapt.

After theſe forſayd letters were openlyred and rectyed before ꝓ ſenatours: many of them were: which counſayled to ſende an army into Affrike/ and in all haſt conuenyent to ſocour and helpe Adherball. And i the meane tyme they wolde take counſell & aduyſe touchyng Jugurth what ſhulde be done to hym: bycauſe he had nat obeyed their embaſſadours. Whan the fauourers of Jugurth hard of this they laboured withall their myght: that no ſuch decre ſhuld be made nor ꝓceede to effect. And thus the cõmen wayle was ouercome & ſubdued by ꝓuate ꝓfet/ and partiall fauour: as in many other deſynelles is daily wont to happen. Nat withſtandyng this partialyte: at laſt it was ſo determyned: that other newe embaſſadours were ſent yet ones agayne into Affrike/ nat yong men and inexpert as before: but well aged mẽ & graupte and diſcrecion which wer of great dygnite: and had borne great and worſhypfull offices in tyme paſt/ in the eyte of Rome. Amonge which embaſſadours was one named Marcus Emilius Scaurus/ of whom we haue made mẽcyon before. This Scaurus was a man by riches & fame counted able to be cõſellour of Rome: And alſo at that tyme a mighty ꝓince & great doer among the ſenatours/ and in maner ruler of them all. For aſmoch as all men for the moſt part were diſpleſed with Jugurth & ſore murmured agayuſt his cruelte and agaynſt ꝓ pciall fauour ſhewed to hym at Rome: & alſo for ꝓ the meſſãgers of Jugurth beſought ꝓ embaſſadours to haſt thẽ to Numidy therfore ꝓ thyrd day aft their cõmyſſion they departed frõ Italy: & toke ſhypping & in ſhort tyme aft arryued in Affrike/ at a cite named Utica in a puice ſubiect to ꝓ romayns. Aſſone as they were arryued they ſende letts vnto Jugurth that yf hy in all ꝓ haſt to cõe to ꝓ ſaid pupnce to know ꝓ pleſure of ꝓ ſenatours of Rome which had ſent thẽ thyder for ꝓ nonys wherein

¶ His literis recitatis fuere qui exercitũ in Aphricam mittendum decernerent: q̃ primum Adherbali ſubueniendum: interim de Jugurtha cõſuleretur quoniam legatis non paruiſſet: ſed ab iſſdem regis fautoribus ſũma ope enixũ eſt ne tale decretum fieret: ita bonum publicũ (vt pleriſq negotijs ſolet) ꝓuate gratie deuictũ. Legãtur tamẽ in Aphricam maiores natu/ nobiles amplis honoribus vſi: in quis fuit Marcus Emilius Scaurus de quo ſupra memorauim⁹: homo cõſularis: et tum in ſenatu potens princeps:

Hi ꝙ Jugurthe res in inuidia eratiſſimul et a Numidis obſeruati triduo i nauem aſcendere. Deinde breui Uticam appulſi literas ad Jugurthã miſtunt q̃ociſſime ad prouinciam accederet: ſeq ad eũ ab ſenatu miſſos.

Ille vbi hominis claros q̃ quo ſũ auctoritate Rome pollerent studiosat cognouiſſet animum ad cupidinem rapi ebatur. Vicit tamen in animo ingenio prauũ cõſilium.

Igitur exercitu compatò ſima vi Cirtham irrũpere nititur maxie ſperans tidu a manu hoſtiũ aut vi aut dolis ſeſe caſũ victorię inuenturum: quod vbi ſecus procedit: neq; quod intenderat efficere poteſt: vt priuſq̃ legatos cõueniret: Adherbale pertinetur: ne amplius morando Scaurũ: quem primum metuebat: incenderet: tum paucis equitibus in prouinciã venit.

Ac tametſi ſenatus verbis mine graues nũciabãtur q̃ ab oppugnatione Cirthę nõ deſiſteret: multa tamen oratione cõſũpta legati fruſtra diſceſſere. Ea poſtq̃ Cirthę audita ſũt: Italici: quorum virtute menia defẽdebãtur: conſiſi deditione facta propter magnitudinẽ populi Romani inuiolatos ſeſe fore.

Adherbali ſuadẽt vti ſe et opidum Iugurthę tra

cõmaũde mẽes dyrect vnto hym. Whan Jugurth vnderſtode þ ſuch noble mẽ / famous / & of preemynẽt auctorite at Rome were come to pfybit his interpryſe at firſt begynnyng he was cõwhat troubled with dyede / on þ other part his luſt was moche kyndled to wyn the towne of Cyrtha / and to get Adherbal into his hãdes: and ſo was his mynde dyuerſly dyſtract with dyedr and deſyre: with dyede of the embaſſadours: & with deſyre to bryng his purpoſe to effect. greatly hefeared the angre & dyſpleaſure of the ſenatours if he dyd nat obey their embaſſadours: but his mynde on the other part was vtterly blynded by luſt of dompnion which deſyre drewe hym vyolently to pforme that he had begon: And ſo at cõcluſion in ſuch mynde deſirous of lordſhyp / þ woꝛſt counſell ouercame the beſt. And couetiſe excluded feat: & thus he determyned in mynde to wyn þ towne (if he myght) before he wold go to cõmen with the embaſſadours. This thyng determyned & fixed in mynde: he cõpaſſed the towne rounde about with his army: and with great vyolence aſſayled it cõtendyng to breke in therto: this dyd he: truſtyng that namely: by diuidyng of his army on all ſydes of þ towne and cõpellyng his ennemis within to towne to breke their hole cõpany forto defende þ walles aſſayled on all ptes / he myght at laſt by ſuch meanes wyn vyctoꝛy ouer them. But after many and ſharpe aſſautes at laſt whan he ſawe his purpoſe proceded nat to effect / and þ he was nat of power to haue his pleaſure of þ towne of Adherball before he ſhuld cõmen vñ the embaſſadours / he was right pẽſyue in mynde. And leſt his prolõgyng might angre Scaurus þ chefe of the imbaſſadoꝛs whom he greatly dꝛadde: at laſt he came into þ prouince with a ſmall cõpany of hoꝛſmen. Allone as he was come þ embaſſadours ſhewed vnto him many greuous manaces & woꝛdes in name of all þ ſenate: bycauſe he ceſſed nat forall their cõmaundements from beſeggyng of the towne of Cyrtha / but at cõcluſion rakt moch cõmunicatyon ſpẽt in vayne: the embaſſadours kepted agayn to Rome: without any dyrection oꝛ apoyntmẽt made. Whan tidynges herof came to Cyrtha ſuch as defended the towne were moch abaſſhed / but Adherball moſt of all. At laſt the Italyans / of whom many were within the town: and by whoſe ſtrength the walles were chefely defended / he gan to thynke among theſelfe that yf the town were yelded vp to Jugurth / he durſt nat be ſo bolde to ſhewe any vyolence agaynſt thẽ foꝛ the honour & mageſte of the name of Romayns. Foꝛ al moch as þ ſame Italyãs were reputed as romayns i ſuch dyuiſes they cãe

came to Adherball & hym aduysed to yelde hym selfe and the towne to Jugurth vpon apoynment and cõdycton ꝑ the same Jugurth onely wold promyse to graunt hym his lyfe: and as touching all other iniuries which Jugurth had done to hym/ the senatours whan they shuld se tyme opportune and cõuenyent wolde se a prouysion and remedy: Adherball heryng this counsell/ anone consydred in his mynde that nothing coude be more vnstable nor more incertayne than was the promysse of Jugurth. Agayne he called to mynde that if he acorded nat to their counsell it was in their power to compell hym therto. And so acordyng to their cousell and aduisemẽt he yelded vp ꝑ towne to Jugurth vpon promyse onely to haue his lyfe saued. But anon Jugurth contrary to his promes put Adherball to deth first of all with manyfolde tourmentes. After ꝑ he slewe all the yong and lusty men of the towne bothe Numidyans & Italyan marchauntes indyfferently: sparyng non namely yf they were founde in harnesse.

dat: tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur: cæteris sena tui curam fore.

At ille: tametsi ola potiora fide Jugurthę rebat: tamẽ quia penes eosdẽ: si aduersaretur: cogendi potestas erat: ita vti cen suerant Italici deditionem facit.

Jugurtha imprimis: Adherbalem excruciatũ ne cat: deinde oẽs puberes numidas atq; negotiatores promiscue vt quisq; armatus obuius fuerat/ interfecit.

## How we the senatours certyfied of the cruelty of Jugurth prepared an army agaynst hym: how we the embassadurs of Jugurth were nat receyued into Rome: and how Calphurnius the romayn cappytayne was acloyed by bribes of Jugurth.

### The.xvii. chapter.

¶ Quod postq̃ Rome cognitum est et res in senatu agitari/ cepit: ijdẽ ministri regis interpellãdo ac sepe gratia interdum iurgijs trahẽdo tempus atrocitatẽ facti leuebãt.

When this cruelty of Jugurth was knowen at Rome the senatours begannē to take counsell what thyng was best to be done in the case. But suche whose fauour Jugurth had bought before tyme dysturbed the counsell: And prolonged the tyme with fayre wordes and prayer somtyme: somtyme with fauorable promysses made to other lords: And other whyle wt braulyng and thretnyng openly. In somoch that by such meanes: at last they alayed ꝑ displesure taken agaynst Jugurth and mytigated the cruelty of his dedes. And certaynly all the yll wyll and hatred which was taken agaynst Jugurth shuld vtterly haue ben let fall & quẽched by meane of dyuyng forth of the tyme in counsellyng: had nat ben the resystence and repugnaunce of one named Caius Mẽmius: So great was the power of the fauour & treasure of Jugurth. This Mẽmi?

At ni Caius Mẽmius Tribunus plebis designatus vir acer/ et infectus potẽtie nobilitatis populi romani edocuisset id agi vt per paucos factiosos Jugurthę scelus cõdonaretur: profecto omnis inui

dia in prolatandis cõsul tationib⁹ dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratie/atq; pe cunie regis erat.

was elect & assigned to be ꝓtectour of the cõmẽs for ꝑ yer next insuyng & was a man sharpe & fiers of cõdycions: & agaynst ꝑ power of ꝑ noble mẽ of Rome wãll his myght: & therfore whã he saw this vnresonable fauo⁹ & pcialyte among ꝑ senatours he informed ꝑ cõmen peple ꝑ the senato⁹s were about to ꝓdon the cruelte of Jugurth by couetyse and corrupcyõ of a fewe de batefull lordes. The cõmenty vnderstandynge this was sore moued agaynst the senatours and coũsell. And the senatours agayne sore feared the cõmens: bycause of the offences bothe of Jugurth and of them in fauouryng hym were openly knowen. therfore they dradde lest all the cõmens ioyened togyder might make insurrection agaynst thẽ: wherfore they thought it necessary to pacify and alay the cõmens. Nowe it was so ꝑ long before this tyme a noble man of Rome named Sempronius whyle he was in authorite made a statute and lawe that yf it fortuned at any tyme: that the Romayns shulde in doute and feare lest any warre or batayle might cõe vpon them sodẽly. Newe consuls than shuld be chosen & assigned for the nert yere to come: And send into suche prouynces where ꝑ batayle or warre was feared. These consuls were thus newly chosen before the yere of the olde consuls was fully expyred to thintẽt that in meane tyme they might haue more tyme and layser to make cõuenyent prouycion for the warre: And this act so decreed was called the lawe of Sempronius/bycause he first inacted the same. By this lawe of Sẽpronius: the two prouynces of Numidy and Jtaly were decreed to ꝑ two Consuls for the yere to come. The puynce of Jtaly to be defended and cõserued: and the prouynce of Numidy to be recouerd (Scipio Nasica) (and Calphurnius Bestia) were proclamed Cõsuls for the nert yere cõmyng. The land of Numidy came by lotte to Calphurnius that he shuld do his dyligence to recouer the same. And the countrey of Jtaly fell to Scipio to defende the same. After this an army was assembled to be sende into Affrike/and so forth to Numidy: wages/and bytayls/for ꝑ sowdyours with other thynges nedefull to warre were decreed of the senatours/ and prouyded of ꝑ consull Calphurnius. But whan Jugurth hard tydyngs from his fredes of this ordynaũce: and parceyued ꝑ the matter went forward otherwyse than he trusted it shulde haue done. For his mynde was fyxed that all thyng right and wrong myght be bought & solde at Rome: nowe went he in hand agayne with his olde crafftes. And send his sonne with other two of his most familyer and truste fredes em-

Sed vbi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet: lege Sẽpronia prouincie futuris consulib⁹ Numidia / atque Italia decrete sunt.

Consules declarati Publius Scipio Nasica: Lucius Calphurnius Bestia. Calphurnio Numidia: Scipioni Italia obuenit. Deinde exercitus qui in Aphricã portaretur: scribitur stipẽdium aliaque que bello vsui forent decernũtur.

At Iugurtha cõtra spem nuncio accepto (quippe cui omnia venum ire Rome in animo heserat) filium et cum eo duos familiares ad senatum legatos mittit.

Hisque vti illis quos Hi

des embassadours vnto the senatours. And lyke as he had cõmaũded these embassadours which he send to Rome after he had murdred Hiẽpsall: right so he cõmaunded these that they shuld go in hande to stoppe euery mãnes mouth with money For in his great treasour and in couetyse of ꝑ rulers of Rome was all his confydence. O cursed hunger of golde moost execrable: thou dryuest blynde myndi to yls innumerable. Whan these embassadours of Jugurth wer cõe nere to Rome: the cõsull Calphurni⁹ demaunded aduyse & counsell of ꝑ senatours whither it pleased them ꝑ the sayd embassadours shuld be receyued within the walles of Rome or nat. But the senatours decreed that except they came to yelde bothe Jugurth and the kyngdom of Numidy vnto ꝑ Romayns: vpon a great payne they shuld depart out of the contrey of Jtaly / within .x. dayes after. Calphurnius cõmaunded this ordynance and decre of the senatours to be borne and declared to the Numidyans by one named Decius. And so themballadours departed home agayne without any thynge done wherfore they came. In the mean tyme Calphurnius prepared an army: and chose vnto hym noble men / debatefull / and hauynge many dyentes and seruantes retayned with thẽ. This dyd he to thintẽt that yf he dyd any thyng amysse in his vyage: he might trust to be supported by their auctorite. Among whõ was one named Scaurus: of whose cõdycions and behauour I haue spoken before For in this consull Calphurnius / were many good propertis and vertues condycions both of mynde and of body: but ꝑ cursed vyce of couetyse which was in him: blynded and ouercam all those vertuis: so that he put them nat in execusion he might well indure labour. His wyt was quicke & pregnant: he was prouydẽt and ware ynough / In batayle he was so expert that in grettest paryll he was boldest and strongest agaynst gyles of his ennemies. But to our purpose this Calphurnius / whã he had elect and assembled suche company as hym thought cõpetent for an army / he deuyded all his hoost into legyons conteyning in euery legion .vi. M. vi. C. lx. & six mẽ. And so send forth his men by legions by the countrey of Jtaly / to a towne called Regiũ / which towne is in the marches betwene Jtaly & Cecyle: from this towne of Regiũ they were cõuayed into Cycyle into Affrike / and there they mustred and were set in aray And so proceded by lande tyll they attayned vnto Numidy. Anone Calphurnius prepared vytayls and all maner ordynaunces requysite. And proceded forwarde assaylyng fiersly

empsale interfecto miserat precepit omnis mortales vti pecunia aggrediantur.

Qui postq̃ Romam aduẽtabunt: senatus a Bestia cõsultus est: placeret ne legatos Iugurthę recipi menibus? Hiq decreuere ni regnum / ipsumq; deditum venissent vti diebus in proximis decem Italia decederent.

Consul Numidis ex senatus decreto nunciari iubet. Ita infectis rebus illi domũ discedunt. Interim Calphurnius parato exercitu legit sibi hoies nobiles / factiosos / quorũ auctoritate quę deliquisset munita fore sperebat In quibus fuerat Scaur⁹ de cuius natura et habitu supra memorauimus. Nam in consule nro multe boneque artes animi et corporis erant: quas omnis auaritia prepediebat. patiens laborum: acri ingenio: satis prouidens: belli haud ignarus fortissimus cõtra picula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegiũ: atque inde in Siciliam. Porro ex Sicilia i Aphricam transuecte sunt.

Igitur Calphurni⁹ in initio paratis cõmeatibus

acriter Numidiã aggreſ
ſus eſt: multos mortalis
et vrbes aliquot pugnã-
do cæpit.

Sed vbi Iugurtha p lega
tos pecunia tentare: bel-
liq; quod adminiſtrabat
aſperitatẽ oſtendere cœ-
pit: animꝰ eger auaritia
facile conuerſus eſt.

Cæterum ſocius et mini-
ſter omniũ conſiliorũ aſ
ſumitur Scaurus: qui ta
metſi a principio pleriſ-
que ex factione eius cor-
ruptis acerrime regẽ im-
pugnabat: tñ magnitudi
ne pecunie a bono hone-
ſtoque in prauam obſtra-
ctus eſt.
Sed Iugurtha primũ bel
li tantũmodo moram re
dimebat: exiſtimans ſeſe
aliquid interꝫ Romę pre
cio aut gratia effecturũ.
Poſtera vero q̃ participẽ
negociꝫ Scaurũ accepit:
in maximam ſpem addu
ctus recuperande pacis:
ſtatuit cum eis de omni-
bus pactionibus preſens
agere.

Cæterũ interea fidei cau
ſa mittitur a conſule Se-
xtius queſtor in oppidũ
Iugurthę Vaccam: cuius
rei ſpecies erat acceptio
frumenti: quod Calphur
nius palam legatis impe
rauerat: quoniã deditio-

the lande of Numidy/ as a hardy captayne pretendyng great
valyantyſe at the firſt brunt. Many men toke he priſoners/ &
a fewe townes he wanne and ſubdued vnto hym: ſuche as re-
ſyſted his power he brent them to the grounde to increaſe
to their neighbours: Jugurth aduertig this ſharpnes of Cal
phurniꝰ ſend embaſſadours to hym with great plenty of gold
to attẽpt his mynde: And ſhewed vnto him the hardnes &
difficulte of the bataple which he had begon. Whan Calphurniꝰ
felt the weyght and valour of the glyſtryng golde his corrupt
and vnſtable mynde by contagion of couetyſe anone was pu-
uerted to receiue the money: and induced to fauour and aſſiſt
the part of Jugurth. But Scaurus (of whome I haue ſpo-
ken before) was receyued vnto them for partyner and fella we
of all their counſels & beſynesſes. And howbeit at begynnyng
this ſame Scaurus ſtrongly reſiſted the party of Jugurth:
what tyme many other of his ſect were corrupt and accloyed
with brybes long before this: neuertheles now at laſt his myn
de was abſtract lyke other mo frõ the defence of goodnes & ho
neſty vnto his olde byce of inſacyable & execrable couetyſe by
meane of habundaunce of golde and great rewardes of Ju-
gurth. But at firſt begynnyng this Jugurth redemed of Cal
phurnius/ but onely delayng and deferring of the warre: tru-
ſtyng that in meane tyme he ſhulde bryng about ſomwhat of
his purpoſe at Rome other by price/ prayer/ or fauoure. But
nowe after he had wone Scaurus to be partyner of his beſy-
nes and fauourer of his cauſe alſo with Calphurnius: he was
brought into a verey great truſt fully to recouer his peace at
Rome: and concluded whyle bothe Calphurnius and Scau-
rus were there preſent togyder to take aduyſement and treat
preſently with them of all apoyntmẽtes and thynges neceſſa-
ry to be done for pfourmyng of his purpoſe. Howbeit he tru-
ſted nat Calphurnius ſo moche that he wolde come to his ar-
my except ſome hooſtages of the Romayns were left within
ſome ſtrong towne of his: and in warde of his people wherby
he myght truſt without dãmage ſauely to be rempted agayn
to his army. Calphurnius to auoyd this dougth of Jugurth
and to put hym in more aſſurance ſende the treaſourer of the
Romayne army named Sertius/ vnto one of the chefe tow-
nes belongyng to Jugurth called Vacca faynyng among the
army that he ſent the ſayd treaſourer thyther for prouyſion of
whete and other bytayls neceſſary to his hooſt. And the ſame
cõmaundement to prouyde bytayls the cayptayn Calphurni
us gaue

us gaue to his treasourer openly in commen audyence: to thi tent that no man shuld suspect his false purpose: sayng to his tresourer that hymmeded nat to be in dout of Jugurth/ for as moche as trues were taken betwene both ptyes tyll a certayn day prefixed. The tresourer Spertius went to the sayd cyte of Vacca at cõmaundemẽt of Calphurnius his captayne. Wher fore anone after Jugurth (lyke as he apoynted before) came to the army of Calphurnius. And there in presence of the rulers and cousell of the Romayns/ he spake a lytell of his purgation concernyng the displeasure/ enuy/ and hatereddе/ whi che the senate and commons of Rome had taken agaynst him for his dedes: sayeng that he had nought done but prouoked of his ennemies/ and for his owne defence with vyolence: to re syst vyolence. Howbeit he sayd that he was contented to yelde and submyt himselfe vnto the Romayns clemence and mercy. Somoch spoke he openly before all ỹ chefe cousell of the army. But all the remenaunt he cõcluded and dyd secretly with Cal phurnius and Scaurus at more leasoure/ and thus ended the communycation of this day. On the next day after insuynge the capitayne and the counsell of the army/ and also Jugurth assembled togyder agayne to cõmon of the same mater con cernyng peace to be graũted to Jugurth. Now was it so that among the Romayns was decreed an ordynaunce long before this tyme named among ỹ Romayns the Satyre lawe/ whi che lawe cõmaunded that the captayne of euery army shulde aske aduyse of all the wyse counsell of his hoost whan he went about any weyghty mater concernyng the cõmon wele. Wher fore Calphurnius thought so to order hymselfe that he shulde not be counted a breaker of this lawe: And desyred counsell and aduyse of all the noble and wyse men of his hoost. This dyd he to thyntent that yf the peace graũted to Jugurth shuld be afterward disalowed (as it was) he myght auoyde ỹ faut from hymselfe into the common counsell. But at conclusyon/ whan Calphurnius accordyng to the sayd lawe had requyred aduyse of the common counsell: euery man consented that pe ace shulde be graunted to Jugurth: vpon condycion and cou enaunt that he shulde delyuer vnto the Romayns thertie Elyphantes with moche other cattell and many horses with a gre at somme of golde. To whith ordynaũce Jugurth accorded and soone after delyuered the same Elyphantes/ cattell/ and hor ses and gold vnto the tresourer of the Romayne hoost. This done the consull Calphurnius departed to Rome to requyre ỹ

nis mora inducie agitabantur.

Igitur rex (vti constituerat) in castra peruenit ac pauca presenti cõsilio locutus de inuidia facti sui atque vti in deditionem acciperetur:

reliqua cũ Bestia et Scauro secreto transegit.

Deinde postero die quasi per satyram legem sentẽtijs exquisitis in deditionem accipitur:

Sed vti pro consilio imperatum erat: eliphanti/ triginta pecus/ atque equi multi/ non cum paruo argenta pondere questori traduntur.

Calphurnius romam ad magistratus rogãdos prõ

ficiscetur.
In Numidia et in exercitu nostro pax agitabat.

senatours and other rulers to conferme this peace and concorde which they had made with Jugurth. In meane tyme ouer all Numidy & also in the Romayne army was peace and concorde in abyding the answere of the senate and rulers of Rome.

## Howe the rulers of Rome for the moost parte were greuously displeased for grauntyng of this peace and disalowed the same. And how Memmius inflamed the comen people agaynst the fauourers of Jugurth. The .xviii. chapter.

¶ Postq autem res in Aphrica gestas et quomodo acte forēt fama diuulgauit. Rome p omnis locos et cōuentus de facto cōsulis agitari: apud plebem grauis inuidia orta est. Patres soliciti erant an probarēt tātū flagitiū an decretū cōsulis subuerterent: parum constabat. At maxime eos potētia Scauri q̄ is auctor & socius Bestie ferebatur a vero bonos impediebat.

At Caius Mēmius: de cuius libertate/ ingenio/ et odio potētie nobilitatis supra diximus (inter dubitationem & et moras senatus in concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: mouere populū romanum ne libertatem suam deseretent: crudelia et superba multa facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intētus omnino plebis animum accendebat.

But after it was knowen at Rhome in what maner the consull behaued hymselfe in Affrike with Jugurth: in euery place about Rome/ and amonge euery company within Rome it was cōmyned of the dede of Calphurnius. In somoche that among the cōmenty was rayled greuous hatered and displeasure agaynst hym. The senatours were sore troubled and were in doute whyther they myght conferme and alowe this foule and shamefull dede of the consull/ or els abrogate and annull the same. In this prolerite they were longe tyme vncertayne: And moost of all the myght and power of Scaurus (bycause he was a doer and felowe with the consull in the sayed ded) let them frome dyscussing of the ryght. But whyle the senatours in suche wyse prolonged the tyme in this dubytacion: Memmius (of whose condycions/promptnes of wytte/ and hatredde: which he had agaynst the power of the estates and noble men we haue written before) at dyuers tymes he assembled the cōmen people erhorting and inflampng them to reuenge the cruelty of Jugurth/ and partyalite of his fauourers/ & warnyng them nat to forsake the defence of their cōmen wayle and lybertie of their cytie. He reherced vnto thē the pride/ the cruelte/ and manyfolde vnlaufull dedes of the senatours & of other estates at many tymes done to dishonesty and oppression of the cōmen wele. And vtterly at conclusyon so he behaued hymselfe that he kyndled the myndes of the vniuersall cōmentie to resyst the partialyte of the estates/ and to se the

se the cruelty of Jugurth extremely punyshed. But bycause the eloquēce of this Mēmius at that season was at Rome notable and moche set by/ dyscrete and of great authorite: I haue intended of so many exhortacyons as he had to the people: to cōmyt one to remembraunce by writynge: And specially before all other I wyll write that exhortacyon which after returnynge of Calphurnius from Aphrike he spake before the commen people in fourme folowynge.

Sed quoniam ea tēpestate Rome Memmij facundia clara/ pollensque fuit decere existimaui vnā (ex tā multis) orationē eius perscribere: ac potissimum eam dicam quā in cōcione post reditum bestie huiusce modi verbis disseruit.

## ¶The oryson of Memmius had before the commen people of Rome. In which oryson he inducyth them to defende their lyberte: And to represse and prosecute with hatered the noble men of Rome.

## ¶The.xix.chapter.

RIght worthy cetyzens many thynges shuld withdrawe me from defence of you and from charge and medlyng with your besynesses were nat the great loue and fauour which I haue to the cōmen wele: that causeth me to sette a syde all suche impedymētes/ and vtterly to take vpon me the defence of your lyberte agaynst these corrupt estates. More playnly to ascertayne you the thynges which myght withdrawe me from defence of your cause be these. First the power of thē whiche are begynners of this variaunce: that is to say of Calphurnius and Scaurus. Secondly your pacience whiche is easy to be subdued of crueltie: sithe ye be dysposed to endure this wronge. And thyrdly the infection of Justice whiche is no where here amonge vs/ but clene eryled from oure cytye. And principally this letteth me that I se ye ar so innocent/ so feble mynded/ and so symple that in euery place ye ar sure of all the parylls/ of all the laboure/ and of all the payne: but these estates whiche do nought that is cōmendable haue all the honour/ auentage/ and worshype. And sothely: it greueth me

¶Multa me dehortātur a vobis quirites: nisi studium rei publicæ omnia superet: opes factionis: vestra patientia: ius nullum: ac maxime q̄ innocentie plus periculi q̄ honoris est.

Nam illā quidem piget

dicere: his annis quindecī q̄ ludibrio fueritis superbie paucorum q̄ fedē q̄que multi perierunt ve stri defēsores vt vobis animus ab ignauia atque secordia corruptus sit: qui ne nūc quidē obnoxij inimicis exurgitis.

Atque etiam nunc timetis eos: quibus terrori de cet esse. Sed q̄q̄ hæc talia sunt: tamē obuiam ire potentie factionis animꝰ subegit.

Certe ego libertatē que mihi aparēte meo tradita est experiar. Verū id frustra an ob rē fatiā in vestra manu situm est. Neque vos hortor quod sepe vestri maiores fecere: vti contra iniurias armati eatis: nihil vt nec secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more precipites eant. Occiso tiberio Graccho (quem regnū parare homines aiebant) in plebē romanam graues habite sūt questiones. Post Caij Gracchi et Marci Fuluij cedem: item vestri ordinis multi mortales i carcere necati sunt. Vtriusque cladis non lex verū libido eorū finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni reparatio plebi sua iura restituere quicquid sine sāguine ciuium vlciſci nequit iure factum sit.

to speke to you of the iniury that now of late hath ben done to you: howe moche ye haue ben had in skorne/ derysion/ and in dysdayne: to the power and pryde of a fewe estates. And also it greueth me to recount how vngoodly and vnreuenged many of your defenders by them haue shamefully ben put to dethe for your sake within these fyftene yeres. And to se how your myndes be corrupt with cowardyse and negligence that ye wolde neuer socoure them whyche in your quarell and defence haue subdued themselfe to deth. What intende ye? wyll ye styl be subgette vnto these estates your enemyes. It is surely tyme at the last to aryse and defende your lybertie/ ye do drede them: whom it semeth to dout and to drede you/ consydringe your true quereli/ and their vngoodly myspemeanour. But nat withstandyng that ye be thus dysposed to lose your lybertye and in mystery to passe forthe the residue of your lyues/ neuertheles the good wyll which I haue to you and to the commen wele causeth and dryueth my mynde to resyst this fals fanoure and partialyte of these proude and vniust lordes. Certesse I shall assay and proue howe I can defende the lybertie whiche my father left me: but whyther I shall so do to behoue or auauntage or elles in vayne that lyeth hole in your handes and power. Surely worthy cytezyns I do nat exhort you to go agaynst or withstande these wrongs and oppressions with force of armes as our forefathers haue often done. To resyste and repell this wronge nedeth no vyolence nor deuydynge of you from the senatours as ye haue done before tyme. It must nedes be that these great men cōfederat in malyce at last shall come to decay by their owne condycions insolent & behauour Were nat sharpe inquysicyons and greuous examynatyons hadde agaynst the commen people of Rome/ after that Tiberius Graccus was slayne for the defence of the lawes belongynge to the cōmentie: whom his euyl wyllers accused as vsurper of a kyngdome ouer the commen people. And moreouer after that Caius Graccus and Marcus Fulius/ were putte to dethe for defendyng of your lyberte/ were nat many of your order and behauoure that is to say of the commentie putte to dethe and murdred in prison: And at both the seasons the estates made none ende of their crueltie agaynst you after ꝑ lawe but after their immoderate pleasure. Well forsothe I graunt that it be reputed for treason and vsurpatyon of a kyngdome to defende the lawes and the ryght of the commentie: and I graunt also that what thyng can nat be cōpygnely punysshed

without

without effusyon of blode of many cytezyns: that the same punyshement be executed accordynge to lawe and ryght vpon a fewe suche as were begynners of the trespasse. Within these fewe yeres passed ye dyd dayned and murmured secretely and styll amonge your selfe that the sayd lordes spoyled the cõmen treasoure without your consent: And that kynges and nacyons cõtributory to Rome/payed their trybutes to a fewe pryuate estates/and nat generall to the vnyuersall cyte in cõmen: and ye grutched that these estates hadde all the moost dignyte and all the rychesse and treasoure/ also in theyr handes. Neuertheless they counted but a smalle thynge to escape vnpunyshed for these so great offences. Wherfore nowe are they become so bolde/ so fiers/ and proude: by your sufferaunce that at last they haue betrayed and putte in handes of your ennemyes your lawes/ your dignyte/ your mageste/ withall other thynges bothe humayne and dyuine. So that in pardonyng of these inhumayne and cruell offences of Jugurth they haue polluted and betrayed the lawes bothe of god and man. And howe beit that suche is their demeanoure it nothynge repenteth them: nor they are nought asshamedde therof. But dayly iette before your faces solemly and pompously bostyng themselfe: Some of their dygnitees/ their lordshyppes/ and offyces. And other some crakynge of their tryumphes and victories/ as who sayeth that they attayned the same by honoure/ and nat by falsehodde and robberie. Haue ye nat dayly experyence seyng that symple bondmẽ bought and sold for money wyll nat suffre nor endure the vniust commaundementes of their lordes or maisters. But contrary wyse ye gentlemen: free borne cytezyns ar contented to suffre with meke myndes this bondage wherin ye are holden subgette by the power of these lordes. But I pray you what maner of men be these whiche thus subdue you: and presume thus longe to occupy the commen wayle at this season. Forsothe they be men moost vycious: with bloddy handes infected/ with the bloode of Innocentes. Men of immoderate and insaciable couetyse: noysom and greuous to euery good man. Whose pryde incredeble no man can comprehende/ whiche for money haue solde and dayly are redy for to sell for lucre their fidelyte/ their worshyppe/ their deuotyon/ and good name: And briefely all thynges honest & dyshonest ar they redy to do for auãtage. wherby it apereth euydently that all their ioye & felycite resteth in couetyse.

Superioribus annis tacenti indignabamini erariũ expilari: reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere penes eosdem & sũmam gliam et maximas diuitias esse tũ talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere.
Itaq; postremo leges/ magestas vra/ diuina et humana oia hostibus tradita sunt.

Neque qui ea fecere pudet aut penitet: sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifice: sacerdotia et cõsulatus: pars triumphos suos ostentãtes perinde quasi ea honori non prede habeant.
Seruire comparati iniusta imperia dñorum nõ pferunt. Vos quirites in imperio nati equo animo seruitutẽ toleratis. At qui sunt hi qui rẽpublicam occupauere? homines sceleratissimi/ cruentibus manibus/ immani auaritia/ nocentissimi idemq; superbissimi/ quibus decus: fides: pietas: postremo honesta atq; inhonesta oia questui sũt.

Pars occidisse tribunos plebis. alij questiones in iudas plerique sedem in vos fecisse pro munimento habent.

Itaque quum quisq; pessime fecit tã maxime tutus est metũ a scelere sumo adignauiam vestrã tã stulere: quos omnis eadẽ cupere eadem odisse: eadem metuere in vnum coegit. Sed hæc iter bonos amicitia: inter malos factio est.

Quod si tantam vos curam libertatis haberetis: quã illi ad dominationẽ accessi sunt: profecto: neq; res publica (sicuti nunc) vastaretur: et beneficia vestra penes optimos nõ audacissimos forent.

Maiores nostri parandi iuris et magestatis cõstituẽde gratia per secessionem armati: bis Auẽtinum montẽ occupauere vos pro libertate quã ab illis accepistis: nõne sũma ope nitemini: atq; eo vehementi? q; maius dedecus est parta amittere q; omnino nõ parauisse?

Some of them count themselfe more assured bycause they haue slayne the protectours of the commentie to the intent that other may drede them so moche more: And other of them in wrong examinations and inquisicions had agaynst you reioyse and count themselfe hardye and surer therby: And many other thynketh their defence and auauncement in murdringe of you bostynge themselfe of the same: and thus howe moche worse that eth of them doth: the more sure he is and more sette by. In somoch that where they ought to fere you for their myssededes: they transpose that feare vnto you/ and bycause you by your cowardyse to fear and drede them: whiche are conioyned all togyder agaynst you in one maner desyre of yll/ in one maner couetyse/ in one hatereede of good/ and in one maner fere of your auauncement: but amonge good men to be all of one mynde vnder this maner one nat withstandyng an other it is to be counted for amyte and frendshyppe. Among yll men suche agreyng of maners is but a knotte of dyscorde and causeth sedycion/ baryaunce/ and debate. But verily if ye had so great desyre and care to recouer your lyberte (whiche is lost) as they haue to encrease their lordshyppe: than shulde nat the commen wele be oppressed and wasted as it is nowe: and thã shuld the offices/ maistershyppes/ & dygnitees/ of Rome (whiche ar your benefites to gyue where lyketh you) be in the handes of good and vertuous men/ and nat in the handes of bold bosters and iniust men conspyrate in myschefe. The cõmenty of Rome your forefathers before this tyme haue armed thẽselfe and forsaken the senatours to sundry tymes and kept themselfe togyder vpon the hyll of Auentyne onely/ bycause they wolde haue a lawe decreed and inacted for thẽ. And maisters or officers elect for them which shuld be their protectours agaynst the iniury and erhoytacyon of ỹ estates whan nede shuld requyre which thynge at last was graunted to them and many other lyberties also. Than shuld nat ye labour moche more withall your myght for conseruatyon of the same lyberteis which they haue left vnto you as hole as euer they had them: And specially for this cause ought ye to defende your priuileges for that it is more shame/ and rebuke to lese that priuilege and lyberte which ar goten than neuer to haue obtayned thẽ: And specially what shame is it to you nothynge to augment nor encrease that authorite/ which yor elders & forefathers haue left to you: but to suffre ỹ same by your cowardyse by lytell

and lytell

and lytell to decay: and at laste vtterly to be loste and come to nought. But any of you may than requyre of me what is your myude/ what wyll ye that we do. I wyll forsothe and counsel that punyssyment be taken vpon them whiche haue betrayed the honour of the commen wele vnto your ennemy Iugurth/ without aduyse of the senatours or of the commenty: but this my counsell is nat to punyssthe them vyolently with your power in batayle/ for certesse that were more dyshonoure vnto you to do than to them to suffre the same. Nat withstandyng that they be worthy so to be delt with all. But this thyng may be best done by inquysition/ examynatiō and confession of Iugurth hymselfe/ and by his appelynge of these treatours whiche Iugurth surely wyll be obedyent to come hyther to Rome at your commaundement yf it be true that he hath yelded him selfe. But if he dyspice your commaundementes than may ye well thynke and cōsyder what peace or yeldyng he hath made by the whiche yeldynge he is vnpunyssthed and pardoned of his detestable and shāefull dedes/ and these estates laded with richesse and treasoure. But ouretcytie and welthe of the commenty is come to losse/ dammage/ and vtter shame and dysworshyppe. Thus must ye do/ suche examynations muste ye make without ye thynke that these great men haue nat yet sufficyent lordshyppe and power in their handes or els without ye shewe outwarde that ye were better pleased and content wt that season whā kyngdomes/ prouynces/ iustices/ lawes/ iugementes/ batayle/ peace/ and finally euery thynge both dyuyne and humayne wey in handes of a fewe estates. Than ye be nowe pleased with the season and tyme that nowe is whan your lyberte is gyuen to you whiche ye ar able to meyntayn if ye be dysposed. But in that season passed howe beit ye were vnouercome of your ennemies/ maysters/ and emperours/ ouer the mooste part of the worlde: yet had ye ynough to do to defende your owne life frō the cruelty of these fewe mighty men. For of you al who was so bolde to withstand their subiectyon & bōdage. Wherfore yf ye entend to endure & suffre the destruction of your lyberty as ye begyn than truely ỹ tyme which is to come shalbe moch more cruell to you than the tyme passed. But as for me nat withstandyng that I vnderstande that the great offence & abhomynable of this wycked Iugurth is suffred vnpunyssthed: yet wolde I suffre pacyently ỹ ye shuld forgyue & pardon the wicked dedes of this dede mē moste vngracious bycause they be citezins. If it were nat so/ that such mer

Dicet aliquis: quid igit censes vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempu. non manu neque vi: quod magis vobis facile: q̄ illis accidisse indignum est.

Verum questionib⁹ et iudicio ipsius Iugurthę: qui si deditus est; profecto iussis vestris obediēs erit.

Sin ea cōtemnit: scilicet existimabitis qualis illa pax aut dedītio sit: ex qua ad Iugurtham scelerum impunitas: ad paucos potentes maxime diuitie: ad rempu. damna atque dedecora peruenerint. Nisi fore nondū etiam vos dnationis eorū satietas tenet: et illa q̄ hœc tempora magis placent: cum regna/ prouincie/ leges/ iura/ iudicia/ bella/ atque paces: postremo diuina et humana ōnia penes paucos erant. Vos autem inuicti ab hostibus imperatores omnium gentium satis habebatis animam retenere.

Nam seruitutē quidem quis vestrū recusare audebat?

At ego tametsi vitium flagitiosum existimo ipune iniuriā accepisse: tū vos hoibus sceleratissimis ignoscere: q̄n cuius sunt e quo aio pateremini mia I pricie casura esset.

Nam ut alias [illegible] impunitatis habent) pa-
rem sibi impune male faci-
endi facultatem licentia
deinde eripiatur. Quo vo-
bis eterna felicitudo re-
manebit, quum intelligi-
tis aut seruiendum esse:
aut per manus libertatē
uendere.
Nam siqui quidē aut cō-
cordie quē spes est
Dñari illi volunt: vos li-
beri esse: facere illi iniu-
riam vos prohibere: po-
stremo socijs nostris velu-
ti hostibus: hostibus pro
socijs vtuntur: potest ne
in tam diuersis mentib⁹
pax aut amicitia esse.
Quare moneo, hortorq;
vos ne tātum scelus im-
punitum omittatis. Nō
peculatus erarij factus
est neque per vim socijs
erepte pecunie que (q̄q̄
grauia sunt) tamē ex cō-
suetudine iam pro nihi-
lo habentur.
Hosti acerrimo prodita
senatus authoritas; pro-
ditum imperiū, vestrum
est: domi militieque res
publica venalis fuit que
nisi questa erunt: et ni-
si vindicatum in noxios
quid erit reliquū nisi ve
illis obedientes viuam⁹
qui ea fecerunt. Nā im-
pune quodlibet agere: id
est regem esse.

Neque vos quirites hor
tor ut malitis ciues ve-
stros pperā q̄ recte fecisse

ryme to the pyllers shulde tourne to our dystruccion and ruyn
& not mayntey. For ye may se how we great opportunyte and lus-
trannce they haue in somoch that they commit but a small thin-
gon we be happy yf we do without punyshment. Wherfore they now
daily encrease the crueltey against you: yf ye do nat hereafter
take from them the power and authorite therof. And specially
ony nuall tributes without ende shall remayne vnto you whā
ye se playnly that other ye must be seruauntes or bondemen:
gyue ye vnto them tribute and defende your liberte by strength
of your handes. For what hope ye ought is there of faithfulnes
or of concorde betwene you and them? None surely. For their
myndes is vtterly set to be lordes ouer you: and ye on the other
part dyll nedes here and se to it. They be extremely inclyn-
ned and dysposed to do wronge and iniury vnto you. And ye la-
bour to withstande the vtterly. And to speke playnly they take
the frendes & companyons of our empyre for enmyes. But our
mortall enemyes they take for their felowes and frendes. But
ye wolde wyth stande this cursed & vnkynde behauour. Wher-
fore can ye suppose that peace & loue & frendshyp can be amon
ge people so contrary of myndes and dysposicyon. For these cō-
tynuall debatyons & warre and stryfe you shall suffre nat so gre-
at myscheues to escape vnpunyshed. This offence is nothynge
lyke to the robbyng of the cōmon treasour / nor to the spoyling of
money by extorcyon nor the felowes & frendes of our empyre;
Which deades (how be it they be greuous & in maner intollera-
ble) neuertheles by custome & vse of the same they are reputed for
small faultes and for nought. But this deade is moch more gre-
uous and vtterly intollerable: For the authorite of the senate
is betrayed to the moost cruell and fyers enemy Jugurth
your empyres falsly betrayed to other menues handes & pos-
session. The comen wele hath ben put to sale to Jugurth by the
senatours bothe at home in your cyte / and also in your army by
Calphurnius the consulle. In somoche that yf examynacion be
nat made therof and if they be nat punyshed which be culpā-
ble & faulte herin. What thynge shall remayn vnto vs but that
we must passe our lyfe vnder obedyence and bondage of the
which thus haue done / and vs shall they kepe in subiection as
yf they were kynges? For what thynge longeth to a kynge /
saue to parfourne his will and pleasure / be it good or yll with
out any reprefe or punyshment of any man? Do nat these
estates thus woulcany contrarytes / nat withstādyng that it is
in your power to withstande the if ye wyll? For certes vnethe

cytesyns

cytesyns I do nat thus exhort you to couet rather that your cytesyns shulde do yll than well. But I spek to thintent/ that ye shulde nat so fauour and forbere a fewe iniust and yll disposed men: that the vtter dystruction of all good men shulde proceede of suche indyscrete fauour: And also namely in a cyte or a cõmen wayle it is moche better and more tollerable to forgete the rewarde of good dedes/ than the punyshment of yll dedes For a good mã seyng his goodnes nat rewarded nor set by he dothe but onely with drawe his owne kyndnes: but an yll mã nat punyshed is the more bolde and cutted: And moreouer if suche as be mysdoers be punyshed/ at the last their nõbre shal be abated and decreased/ and yf there be fewe iniust men/ þ les wrong is done. And he to whom no wrong is done nedeth nat to call for socoure nor helpe. Thus it is better to leaue a good dede vnrewarded/ than an yll dede vnpunyshed.

sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos preditum eatis.

Ad hoc in republica multo prestat beneficij q̃ maleficij immemorem esse: bonus sit tantomodo segnior vbi negligas: at malus improbior: ad hoc si iniurie non sint: haud sepe auxilij egeas.

## ¶How Mẽmius induced the peple of Rome by the sayd orison: so that Cassius was sent for Jugurth to bring hym to Rome to declare ⁊ acuse the supporters of his dedes. ¶The.xx. chapter.

AEmmius counsellyng and inducynge often tymes by these words and other lyke at last dyde so moch that Lucius Cassius/ one of the chefe.r. iuges of Rome shuld be sẽde to Jugurth and assure him of his lyfe and to come and returne i saue garde vpõ promes and fayth of all the hole cõmontie of Rome. And vpon this promes to bring him to Rome to thintent that by his owne wordes and confession of the trauth/ the falshode and couetyse of Calphurnius the consull/ of Scaur9 and of other which had bẽ corrupted by hym before by money and rewardes myght be euydently proued and knowen.

Hec atque alia huiuscemodi sepe in dicẽdo Mẽmius populo psuadet vt Lucius Cassius qui tum prẽtor erat ad Iugurthã mitteretur ⁊ eum⁹ inter posita fide publica Romam duceret: quo facilius iudicio regis Scauri et reliquorum quos pecunie capte arcessebant delicta patefierent.

## ¶Of the behauour of the soudyours and other which were laft in Numidy whyle Scaurus the consull was at Rome. ¶The .xxi. chap.

¶ Dum hec Rome geruntur: qui in numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui prerāt: sequuti morem imperatoris sui plurima et flagitiosissima fecere facinora: fuere qui auro corrupti elephantos Iugurthę traderent. Alij p fugas venderēt: pars ex pactis predas agebant. Tanta vis auaricie animos eorum veluti tabes inuaserat.

Whyle these thynges were in hand and done at Rome/ in meane tyme the chefe of ꝑ souldyours whiche Calphurnius had left behynde hym in Numidy folowed the maners and behauour of their captayn and dyde many vngoodly and myscheuous dedes. Some of them were so corrupt with golde that they delyuerd agayne to Jugurth the olyphantes/ which he had gyuen to Calphurnius what tyme ꝑ peace was graunted and trues/ firſt taken bytwene them. Some other solde to Jugurth ꝑ traytours which had fledde from hym vn to the Romayns armye: And other some spoyled & robbed the people of Numidy/ which had all redy peace with the Romayns/ and had submytted themselfe. So great and shamefull was the vyolence of couetyse which had infected their mynds as if it had ben an vniuersall cōtagion of pestylence. But now wyll I returne to my mater whey I left of before concernyng Cassius the iuge and his vyage to Numidy for to bring Jngurth vnto Rome.

## ¶ How Jugurth came to Rome with Cassius & how he behaued hymselfe there. The. xxii. chap.

¶ At Cassius perlata rogatione a Caio Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate ad Iugurtham proficiscitur: eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet (qm̄ se populo romano dedisset) ne vim q̄ misericordiam expire mallet.

Priuatim preterea fidē suam interponit quā nō minoris q̄ publicam ducebat.

Talis ea tēpestate fama de Cassio erat.

Caius Mēmius in name of all the cōmens gaue cōmaundement to Cassius (according to ꝑ ordynaunce inacted) to spede hym towarde Numidy: And to bydde Jugurth come to Rome vnder suerty and cōdycion before reherſed. Whan the estates which knewe themselfe culpable vnderstode of this they were marueylously abasshed. But whan Cassius was come to Jugurth/ natwithstandyng that he was ferefull of his part/ and had no confydence in his cause for almoche as he knewe hymselfe fauty in his owne conscience: yet Cassius adupsed hym and induced hym: bycause he had yelded hymselfe/ to come vnto Rome: without he wolde rather proue the Romayns strength and vyolence than their mercy and ꝑyte: and moreouer the sayd Cassius promysed also his owne fayth and trouth that yf he wolde come to Rome and ani were truly to all suche thynges as there shulde be demaunded of hym/ he shuld safely go and come without any impedyment. Cassius had so good a name at Rome that Jugurth had almoch cōfydence in

dence in his fayth and promes alone as in the promes or assu rance of the holsome cyte. And so at last Jugurth consented to go to Rome with Callius. Wherfore to enduce the romayns to more pyte they arayed hymselfe in rude apareil agaynst his hy nour royall mocke dyle and myserable: and so with Callius came to Rome not as a kyng / but poorly and with a small cõ pany. And not withstandyng that his mynde was moch con strayned / assured / and bolded: by the confort of them which he had corrupted with rewardes before / vnder whose defence and suppozacy all he had cõmytted so moche cruelty / yet he beha ued hym so with his gyftes of newe allone as he was come to Rome / that he induced by great rewardes a lorde of Rome na med Caius Bebius / one of the protectours of the cõmenty to be suppozter and mayntener of his cause among the other mo. By whose dyshonest and vnmesurable couetise he hoped assu redly to be defended agaynst the lawe from all punysshmẽtes due vnto his demerites. But the cõmenty of Rome was hy olent and forewrathe with Jugurth / some commaunded to ha ue hym to prison and there to kepe hym in bandes. And other some wolde that according to the lawe punysshement of dethe shulde be taken of hym as of their mortall enemy / yf he wold not shortly cõfesse & discouer the felowes / partiners & suppor ters of his cruell dedes. Caius Memius herying herof called together the cõmenty and alayed the mocyon & wrath of their myndes apeasyng their vnauysed rancour. And requirynge them to kepe the fayth and trouth of the cyte (which they pro myssed to Jugurthe) clere / inviolate / and vndefyled. Thus hyde Memius exhort them as he which more regarded a set more by the conseruacion of the dygnite of Rome / than by the parformyng and satysfyeng the wrath and yre of the rude cõ mens. But when silence was made among all the assemble; anone Jugurth was brought forth before them all. Memius than began to speke to hym demurely reherfynge and openly recountyng how he had corrupt the estates of Rome with his treasoure / and cruelly agaynst right had done many abhomy nable dedes at Rome / and also in Numidy agaynst the kyng Micipsa and his cõmes / as slayne Adherball and Hiempsall falsly dyscevyed the kyng Micipsa and wasted the kyngdom of Numidy. And how beit (sayd Memius) that the Roma yns knewe well his suppozters yet they wold moost of all that Jugurth shulde openly discouer and accuse them hymselfe. Wherfore he desyred hym truely to confesse the names of them

Iugurtha cõtra decus re giumcultu q̃ maxime mi serabili cum Callio Ro mam venit. Ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat cõstimato ab omni bus quorum potẽtia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat que supra diximus. Cai tamen Bebium tribunũ plebis / magna quarcede parat cuius impudentia cõtra ius et iniurias om nes munitus foret.

At Caius Memmius ad uocata concione (qq regi infesta plebs erat; et pars in vincula duci iu beret: pars vero nisocios sceleris aperiret: mox moiorum de hoste supplicium sumi) dignitati ma gis q̃ re consulens; sedare motus et animos eorũ mollire / postremo confir mare fidem publicam p sese inuiolatam fore.

Post vbi silentium cepit producto Iugurtha verba fa cit. Rome numidiq; facinora ei' memorat scelera in patrẽ fratres que ostedit; et quibus la uantibus quibusque mi nistris ea egerit; q̃q intel ligit populus Romanus tamen se velle manifeste magis ex illo habere: si verum aperiat: in fide & clemẽtia populi romani magnam spẽ illi fitam.

by whose suppoztacion he was so bolde to cõmyt so many inor
derate & cruell dedes. Sayng that if he wolde so do & cõfesse
dysclose the trouth than myght he haue great trust and confy-
dence in ꝑ fauour/clemence/and mercy of the peple of Rome.
But yf he wolde nat so do/ he shulde do no profet by his spẽce
to the noble men of Rome which had suppozted him: And also
he shulde be dystruct yon and vndoyng of hymselfe/and of his
eyches also. On this poynt Memius ceassed his wozdes and
bede hym styll. Anone Jugurth was cõmaunded of the com-
menty to make answere. But whan he was redy to haue spo
ken/ one Caius Bebius whom he had coꝛrupt befoze with re
sour as I haue made mencyon befoze cõmaunded hym to hol
de his pease. Insomoche that howbeit the people soze moued
with dyspleasure put hym in feare with exclamation agaynst
hym with angry countenances/and often violently rennynge
vpon hym/and with other tokens of yre and dyspleasure. Ne
uertheles se foz all this ꝑ frowarde counsell of Bebius ouerrãe
their thzetnyng/ insomoch that Jugurth wolde nothyng spe-
ke noz dysclose. And thus the people had in derysion and abu-
sed/departed from the congregation and assemble. Thus the
myndes of Jugurth/of Calphurnius/ and of other their par-
tyners were than inhansed and increased in boldnesse: which
were troubled and moche ferefull befoze/ whan Jugurth was
first sende foz and brought to be exampned.

## How Jugurth encreased his crueltie at Rome and renued his murdze in sleayng an other noble man of the stocke of Micipsa by occasion wherof he was constrayned to departe from Rome/ and the batayle renewed agayne of hole.

### The.xxiii.chapyter.

AT the same season was a gentleman at Rome named Massiua/bozne of the coun-
tre of Numidy/which was the sone of Gu-
lussa/ a neuewe to ꝑ good kyng Massinis-
sa. This Massiua was agaynst Jugurth i
the stryfe and dyscẽcion betwene Adherbal
and hym/ whan ꝑ towne of Cirtha was yel
ded/and Adherball slayne. Wherfoze he trusted nat Jugurth
but to

Sin reticeat: non salutĩ
socijs fore: sese et suas q
pes corrupturum.
Deinde vbi Mẽmi⁹ dice-
di finem fecit/et Iugur-
tha iussus est respondere
Caius Bebius (quẽ pecu-
nia corruptum supra di-
ximus) regem facere iu-
bet: ac tametsi multitu-
do quę in cõcione aderat
vehementer accensa ter-
rebat eũ clamore vultu
questuque impetu: atq; ali
js omnibus quę ira fieri
amat. Vicit tũ Bebij ipu
dentia. Itaque populus
ludibrio habitus ex con-
tione discessit.
Iugurthę/Bestieq; et cæ-
teris quos illa questio ex
agitabat ai augescunt.

Erat ea tẽpestate Ro
me Numida quidam no-
mine Massiua filius Gu
lussæ: nepos Massinissæ:
qui (quia in dissensione
regum Iugurthę aduer-
sus fuerat) dedita Cir-
tha et Adherbale interfe
cto profugus ex Aphrica

but to ſaue hymſelfe fledde from Numidy vnto Rome. Now was a lorde at Rome named Albinus/ whiche was creat cõſull with an other partyng felawe named Minucius/ the nexte yere after Calphurni⁹. This Albinus came to Maſſiua/ and coũſayled hym (bycauſe he was of ꝑ ſtocke of Maſſiniſſa) to greue Jugurth/ aſmoch as he coude/ with enuy/ feare/ and dyſpleſure for his offences: and cruelty. And by peticyon to deſyre of the ſenatours the admyniſtration of the kyngdome of Numidy. Albinus gaue to hym this coũſell/ for aſmoche as he hymſelfe was deſyrous of bataple. Wherfore he wold moch rather that euery thynge were moued with trouble/ than pacified or at reſt. Than was it a cuſtome at Rome/ that the cõſull ſhulde haue a partyng felawe/ and bytwene them the prouynces belongyng to Rome ſhulde be deuyded. Thus in departyng of the prouynces the contrey of Numidy fell to Albinus/ and the countrey of Macedony to his felawe Minutius. Shortly after Maſſiua began to moue the mater to the ſenatours towchyng adminiſtratyon of ꝑ kyngdom of Numidy. Jugurth hering of this had nat ſo great truſt in his mater nor to his frẽdes as he had before: For ſome of them with drewe their ſelfe for knowlege of their fautes/ and other ſome fore fere of yll name and fame or rumour of the people. Wherfore Jugurth cõſydering this required Bomylchar/ one of his moſt ney ⁊ truſty frendes to prouyde and to hyer by gyftes and rewardes a cõpany to ſle the ſayd Maſſiua/ and that as priuely as coude be done. But yf it coude nat priuely be done/ than to ſlee hym openly by one meane or other. Bomilchar ſhortly went about the cõmaundement of Jugurth/ and anon prouyded men and hyred ſuche as were mete for ſuche a dede: and cõmaunded thẽ to eſpy and ſerche his wayes/ his goyngs/ and cõpynges/ and to wayet a ſeaſon and place conuenyent to parforme their enterpriſe. But afterwarde whan he ſawe his tyme he prepared to execute this treaſon. Wherfore one of thẽ which were ordayned and aſſigned to this murdre/ aſſayled Maſſiua raſſhely: with ſmall prouyſion or auyſement/ and ſlewe hym vnware. But he whiche dyde the dede anone: was taken and brought before the iudges. The people in great nombre deſyred and at laſt conſtrayned hym to tell by whoſe counſell he dyd that myſcheuous dede ⁊ ſpecially Albinus the cõſull/ coarted hym ther to. The murderer anone confeſſed the treuthe and declared howe he had done it at the inſtygation and counſell of Bomylchar: And nat withſtandynge that the ſame Bomylchar came

ablerat. Huic Spurius Albinus qui proximo anno poſt beſtiã quinto Minutio Ruffo cõſulatum gerebat: pſuadet: quoniam e ſtirpe Maſſiniſſe ſit Jugurtham ob ſcelera inuidia cũ metu vrgeat regnum Numidię a ſenatu petat. auidus conſul belli gerundi moueri q̃ ſenescere omnia malebat.

Ipſi prouincia Numidia Minutio Macedonia obuenit. Que poſtq̃ Maſſiua agitare cepit: neq; Jugurthę in amicis ſatis p̃ fidi eſt (quia eorum aliũ conſcientia: alium mala fama et timor impediebat) Bomilchari proxio ac maxime fido ſibi ꝑarat vt precio (ſicuti multa conſecerat) inſidiatores Maſſiue paret: ac maxime occulte: ſin id parũ procedat: quouis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilchar mature regis mandata exequitur p homines talis negocij artifices: itinera/ egreſſusq;/ eius/ poſtremo loca/ atq; tempora explorat. Deinde vbi res poſtulabat: inſidias tetẽdit. Igit vnus ex eo numero qui ad cedem parati erant: paulo incõſultius Maſſiuã aggreditur: illũque obruncat. Sed ipſe deprehẽſus multis hortãtibus: et in primis Albino cõſule in dicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex equo et bo-

no ꝙ ex iure gentium Bomilchar comes eius qui Romã fide pu. venerat.

At Iugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum nitiq̃ animaduertit supra gratiam ac pecuniam suam inuidiam facti esse.

Igitur q̃q̃ in priori actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat: regno magisq̃ vadibus cõsulens: clam in numidiam dimittit Bomilcharẽ veritus ne reliquos populares metus inuaderet parendi sibi: si de illo supplicium sumptum foret.

Et ipse paucis diebus eo profectus est: iussus a senatu Italia discedere.

Sed postq̃ Roma egressus est fertur sepe tacit⁹ respiciẽs postremo dixisse vrbem venalem & mature perituram: si emptorem inuenerit.

to Rome/ vnder the sauegarde and assuraunce of the fayth of the commenty as dyde Jugurthe/ yet he was iudged gyltie of the dede/ considerynge that he was counselloure therto: and nat accordynge to the commen lawe/ but after very equite and good conscience. But Jugurth consyderyng hymselfe culpable in the same faute/ yet wolde by no meane cõfesse nor knowlege hymselfe fawtie/ tyll tyme that he vnderstode & sawe that the enuy and displeasur which was taken agaynst this dede passed all his fauoure and rewardes which he had gyuen at Rome/ so that at last in his gyftes he foũde no socours nor ayde. But howe beit in the first actyon or accusement which was layed agaynst hym/ he had brought in and layd .l. suerties of his frendes for hym and all other of his retynue ꝑ he shulde purge hymselfe of euery thyng which was or shulde be layed agaynst him. yet thought he better to prouyde for the protectyon of his kyngdome than for the helth of his pledges or suerties. And this consydringe he priuely sent Bomylchar away from Rome vnto Numidy/ dredynge that yf condyng and worthy punysshement were taken of Bomylchar at Rome/ than the other commentie of his royalme at home wolde drede to be obedyẽt to hym. And anone after Bomylchar was departed Jugurth hymselfe fledde also from Rome after him commaunded of the senatours to depart from Italy as ennemy to the romayns/ and their empyre. But whan he was departed a lytell without Rome: it is sayed that he loked often backe warde behynde hym spekyng secretely to hymselfe/ but at the last he spake playnly in audyence that they whiche were assystent myght here hym and sayed. O noble and famous cytie corrupt and accloyed with infect cytezyns/ whose couetyse is so insaciable that they wyll profer the forth to sale/ and shortly thou shuldest be solde and perysshe/ yf thy rulers coude fynde any man that wolde bye the/ and gyue money for the.

## Howe Albynus consull of Rome renewed the warre agaynst Jugurth/ and at last retur ned agayne to Rome leauyng his brother Aulus in Numidy/ with the army in his towne.

## ¶ The.xxiiii.chapter.

IN the mean ſeaſon Albinus whi che was create conſull next after Calphur nius renewed the warr agaynſt Jugurth a without tarieng: cauſed vytayls/ wag and all other thynges neceſſary/ erpedyēt/ and belongyng to ſoudyours: to be cōuey ed ſpedely into Affrike. And he anon hym ſelfe in all haſt toke his vyage thyderwarde alſo/ and ſo forth to Numidy. In which voyage he made more haſty erpedycion to thintent to fynyſſhe the bataple with Jugurth/ other by force of armes/ or els conſtraynyng hym to yelde hymſelfe/ or by ſome other meanes what ſo euer myght be founde namely before the tyme of electyon of newe cōſuls/ which tyme was nat longe thens to come. But contrariwyſe Jugurth prolonged euery thing by one cauſe or other. As faſt as Albin⁹ went forwarde/ ſo faſt Jugurth founde impedymentes/ ſomtyme he promyſed to yelde hymſelfe/ and ſomtyme fayned hymſelfe afrayed. One whyle he fledde from ꝑ army of Albynus whan it was nere hande to him: And anone after leſt his men ſhulde myſtruſt by diſconfort or diſpayre/ he boldely withſtode and defended hymſelfe manly. And thus in prolongyng the tyme: ſomtyme with warre and ſomtyme with peace he abuſed and mocked the conſull/ wherfore ſome were whych ſuſpected that Albynus was nat ignorant of the counſell of Jugurth/ but cō ſentyng to hym by fauoure: And for aſmoche as at the begynnynge he was ſo fyers/ haſty/ and dyligent: it was ſuſpected that he droue forth the tyme nowe rather by falſhode and gyle than by cowardyſe. But after that ꝑ tyme was paſſed and the day of electyon of newe conſules aproched and came faſt on. The conſull Albynus ordayned his brother named Aulus/ to be in his ſteve as cappytayne/ and ruler in ꝑ army: and he hym ſelfe departed towarde Rome/ to be at electyon of the newe cō ſuls/ as the lawe requyred.

¶ Interim Albinus renouato bello cōmeatum/ſtipendiū/ aliaque quæ militibus vſui forent: maturat in Aphricā portare ac ſtatim ipſe profect⁹ eſt vti ante comitia (quę tempus haud longe aberat) armis aut deditione aut quouis modo bellū conficeret.

At contra Iugurtha trahere omnia: & alias dein de alias cauſas more facere: polliceri deditionē ac deinde metum ſimulare: cedere inſtanti: et paulopoſt (ne ſui diffiderent) inſtare: ita belli modo: modo pacis mora conſulem ludificare.

At fuere qui tum Albinū haud ignarum cōſilij regis exiſtimarent. Neque ex tanta propertia: tam facile tractū bellum ſecordia magis q̄ dolo crederent. Sed poſtq̄ dilapſo tempore comitiorum dies aduentabat. Albin⁹ Aulo fratre in caſtris pro ꝓtore relicto Roma diſceſſit.

## How Aulus and the romayne army were diſconfyted of Jugurth: and how peace was graūted to hym by Aulus: and to what ſhame the romayns were put by raſhe foly of the ſame cappytayne Aulus.

## ¶ The.xxv. chapter.

¶ Ea tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribunitijs atrociter respu. agitabatur. Publius Lucullus: Lucius Annius tribunis plebis resistentibus collegis cõtinuare magistratum nitebantur.

Quæ dissensio totius anni cõmitia impediebat.

Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus quem prõ prætore in castris relictũ supra diximus/aut conficiendi belli gratia: aut terrore exercitꝰ ab rege pecunie capiunde/ milites mense Ianuario ex tabernaculis in expeditionem euocat: magnisq; iteneribus hyeme aspera paruenit ad opidũ Suthul/vbi regis thesauri erant. Quod q̃q̃ et seuitia temporis et oportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat (nam circa murum situ in pretupti montis extremo planicies limosa hyemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tũ aut similandi gratia quo regi formidinẽ adderet: aut cupidine cecus opidi potiundi: vineas agere: aggerem iacere: aliaque quæ incepto vsui forent preparare.

At Iugurtha cognita va

IN the same season was the commen wayle moche troubled with baryaũce and debate/ which was betwene the protectours of the cõmentie. For of them one named Lucullus and an other Annius laboured to contynue and kepe styll their office and agaynst the ordynaunce of ỹ lawe to cõtynue more than one yere. Wherfore the other which wer partyng fela wes in office with them laboured with all theyr myght the contrary to resyst them and to mayntayne the olde constytucion ordynaunce and custome. This dyscention and debate letted the electyon of the newe consuls all that yere. Aulus whom Albynus had left with the army in Numidy as his lewtenaunt: herd of this prolonging of the tyme and was brought in great hope to wynne great honour or treasour. Wherfore in the colde moneth of January he called the souldyours forth of their tentes to execute the batayle with Jugurth without more delay. Outher dyde he thus shortly to make an ende of the batayle in his tyme/ and therby to wynne honour or els with his army to putte Jugurth in feare (so that to haue peace) he shulde redeme the same of Aulus with great treasoure. Aulus concludynge on this purpose: spedde hym so fast with his souldyours makyng dayly great iournayes (nat withstãdynge the sharpnesse of wynter) that at last he came to a towne in Numidy/ named Suthull: in which towne the tresours of Jugurth were layed. This towne with walles/ waters/ and mountaygnes of nature was strongly defended: for without the walles buylded on the extreme of a mountaygne broken on the forefronte was a great playne fenne/ or marrayse grounde: all ouercouered with mudde/ and standyng wynter water. In somoche that what for the sharpnesse of the wynter season: and what for naturall defence of the place/ this towne coude by no meanes be well besyged nor taken. yet this nat wstandyng Aulus to encrease fere to Jugurth/ and for the blynde desyre which he had to wynne the towne in maner of dyssimulatyon assayled the same and made pauayses about ỹ walles of shelues coniopned lyke bynes/ wherunder his men myght fyght with lesse damage or paryll. Than made he a dythe or trenche rounde about the towne with great hepes of erth casten vpon the sydes of the same/ to the entent that no socoures shulde entre into them: nor they elrape forth at their pleasurs. And finally he made redy euery thyng which belõged or was

necessary

neceſſary to beſyegyng of a cyte or towne. But Jugurth anon percepuede the vayne and folyſſhe behauoure of Iulus/ and craftely encreaſed by polycy the madnes of hym/ ſendyng often emballadours vnto hym to requyre in derylion ꝑ he wold deſyſt and leue beſyging of the towne and intreatyng hym of peace mekely. But in the meane tyme Jugurth himſelfe i maner as ꝑ he wolde nat intermell with Iulus ledde his army by wodes/ foreſtes/ by ſtreat paſſages/ by hyls and dales/ and by backways: cauſyng Iulus to ſuſpect that he was a dradde of hym: And finally he enduced Iulus to truſte after ſome apoyntement. And thus Jugurth with his men fleyng alway into deſertes and hydde places gaue confort to Iulus and encreaſed his corage by ſuche auoydyng. In ſomoch that at laſt Iulus gaue vp ꝑ ſyegyng of the towne of Suthull. And with his hole power haſtely purſued Jugurth as fleyng from him for drede into places vnknowen and his. Thus was the treaſon of Jugurth more hydde from Iulus/ wherfore he made ꝑ leſſe prouyſion therfore. In the mean ſeaſon Jugurth by ſubtyll meſſangers attempted the romayne army day and nyght inducyng them to conſent to betray their felawes/ the cappytayns/ and vndercaptayns: anone for lucre conſented to him. Some in tyme of batayle to forſake and betray their owne cõpany and to fight on the part of Jugurth. And other whiche wolde nat graunt to ſo foule a dede as to fight agaynſt their owne company/ he erhorted and induced them whan the trũpettes ſhulde blowe to batayle to leue their places and arrayt: And depart from their cõpany without ſtroke on one ſyde or other. Whan euery thyng was brought to his purpoſe and acorded to his requeſtes: Than about mydnight he ſtale priuely towarde the tentes of the Romayns: and ſodenly with a great company of Numidyans/ cõpaſed them about on euery ſyde and aſſayled them fiercly. The Romayne ſoudyours which were with Iulus/ thus vnwardly inuaded: were merueuouſly abaſſhed and amaſed/ for the vnwont and ſodayn feare of this treaſon. Some of the mooſt noble hertes: with great courage drewe to them their harnes/ and reſyſted their enemies valyantly: fully aſſured and prefired to dye lyke men: ꝑ fortune ſhulde graunt them none other meanes to eſcape ꝑ inſtant danger. Some other as cowardes hydde themſelfe in caues and other ſecrete places/ yf they myght any fynde. The boldeſt and mooſt vſed to ſuch chaũces conforted their felawes which were fereſull and vnexpert of ſuch chaũces of warre. How beit non of thẽ all was ſo bold nor ſo well aſſured of him

nitate atque impitia legati ſubdole eins augere amẽtiã miſſitare ſupplicantes legatos. Ipſe quaſi vitabundus p ſaltuoſa loca et tramites exercitum ductare.

Denique Aulum ſpe pactiõis pepulit: vti Suthule relicto in abditas regiones ſeſe veluti ſedẽtem inſequeretur.

Ita delicta occultiora ſore.

Interea Iugurtha p homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat centuriones/ duceſq; turmarum partim vti tranſfugerẽt corrumpere alij ſigno dato vti locum deſererent.

Quæ poſtq̃ ex ſentẽtia iſtruxit intempeſta nocte cum multitudine Numidarum Auli caſtra circũuenit.

Milites Romani perculſi inſolitu meru armatæ pe: alij ſeſe abdere: pars territos confirmare: trepidare omnibus locis vis magna hoſtium:

cælum nocte atque nubibus obſcuratum: periculum anceps.

Poſtremo fugere an manere tuti⁹ foret incertum erat.

Sed ex eo numero quos paulo ante corruptos diximus / cohors vna ligurum cum duabus turmis Tracum et paucis gregarijs militibus tranſiere ad regem: et Cēturio primipili tercie legionis p munitionē quam vti defenderet acceparat / locū hoſtibus introeundi dedit. Ea parte Numide cuncti irrupere. Ex noſtris feda fuga: plerique abiectis armis proximū collem occupauere. nox atque preda caſtrorū hoſtes quominus victoria vterentur remorata ſūt. Deide paſtero die Iugurtha cū Aulo in colloquio verba facit: tametſi ipſū cum exercitu fame / ferro que clauſum tenet: tamē dicit ſe memorem humanarum rerum ſi ſecū fedus faceret: incolumes omnes ſub iugum miſſurum: preterea vti decem diebus Numidia decederent.

Quæ q̄q̄ grauia et flagitij plena erant: tamē qui a mortis metu nutabant ſicuti regi libuerat pax conuenit.

ſelfe / but ꝑ he was both in great dꝛede & danger. And no marueyle foꝛ in euery place & on all ſydes about thē they wer inuyroned in compaſe wꝺ great vyolence & plentious nōbꝛe of their enmys hyd vnder darknes of ꝑ nyght & cloudes which vtterly obſcured ꝑ ſtery light. Their patyll was mydfleteth & doutfull whyther they fled oꝛ abode ꝑ bataple. Foꝛ deth was inſtāt and depēded ouer their hedes euery way: & other hope noꝛ eſperaunce was none ſaue in dethe ineuytable. So that finally it was vncertayne vnto thē whether it was beſt oꝛ moꝛe ſuꝭ to fle oꝛ to abyde to their auēture. But of ꝑ cōpany which Jugurth had coꝛrupted wꝺ rewardes as we haue ſayd befoꝛe / one bende oꝛ cohoꝛt of lōberdes & two turmes ꝑ is to ſay. lx. thracyens & a fewe rude and cōmen ſoudyo⁹s betrayed ꝑ romayns & wēt ouer to Jugurth. Alſo ꝑ centuryō which was aſſigned to be captayn ouer thē which wer cōmytted to fight about ꝑ firſt ſtādard of ꝑ thyꝛd legion dꝛewe him & his cōpany aſyde & ſuffred their enmies to entre into ꝑ myddes of ꝑ hooſt on ꝑ ſyde which they had taken to defēd. Thus all ꝑ Numidyēs bꝛake in on ꝑ ſyde without any reſyſtēce. And ſo at cōcluſion the romayns had a foule flight & a ſhamfull dyſcōfyture / inſomoch that they truſted moꝛe to their fete than to theyꝛ hādes oꝛ armour: And many of thē to ren lighter thꝛue away fꝛo thē their armo⁹ & harnes. And toke the top of an hyll which was nere therby & they taryed ꝑ cōpany of Jugurth / what foꝛ ſpoylig of ꝑ romayns tentꝭ & derknes of ꝑ nyght had les hono⁹ of vyctoꝛie & ſuffred many of ꝑ romayns to eſcape. On the nexꝛ day after Jugurth & Aulus came vnto comunycation togyder. Than ſaid Jugurth to Aulus ꝑ nat withſtādyng ꝑ he had hym & his army which were left alyue ſure ynough compaſed & enuyroned wꝺ wepen & hunger ſo ꝑ they coude nat eſcape: and how beit it was in his powꝛer to oppꝛes hym & all his. Neuertheles he remēbꝛed well ynough ꝑ incertayn cauſes of mānes beſynelle & wold nat be to hym cruell noꝛ vncurtes ſo ꝑ he wolde make wꝺ him a bond of peas & nomoꝛ cōtend agaynſt hym in batell / on this cōdycion ꝑ all the ſoudiours of Julus ſhuld do obeſance vnto hym / & paſſe vnder a ſpere in tokē of ſubiectyō & ſo wout moꝛe damage dept out of ꝑ countre of Numidy wīn the ſpace of .x. dayes nexꝛ after. But how beit this cōpoſicyon and cōdycions were hard / greuous / and full of ſhame and miſery: and woꝛthy to be punyſhed of the ſenatours yf Julus agreed to thē. Neuertheleſſe their myndes ſo wauered foꝛ dꝛede of deth that at laſt the cōpoſicyon & agrement was concluded & agreed at the wyll & pleaſure of Jugurth vpon the ſayd cōdycions.

## ¶ what sorowe and heuynes was at Rome: and how they demeaned thēselfe in the cite aft that tl dyngs herof were brought thyder. The.xxvi.cha.

WHan the Romayns vnderstode of this at Rome/ all the cytie was fylled with drede/ sorowe/ lamentacyon/ and mournyng. Some bewayled the worshyppe of thēppre as lost by that shamefull composicyon: And other vncustomed to suche besynesse of batayle and nat knowyng nor consydrynge the varyable mutabylite of chaunces of warre feredde the losse of their lybertie/ of their cyte/ & of all their empyre. They all were wrothe and vtterly dysplesed with Julus/ cause of this subiection and shamefull composicion. But namely they which had ben good warryours in their dayes were dysplesed with hym moost of all: whan they consydred that he beyng armed and well apoynted to batayle rather sought meanes to escape from dethe by suche shamefull and bonde composicyon than manly abyding the extremyte of batayle to haue delyuered hymselfe and his company: or els valyantly to haue dyed with honoure. But the consull Albynus/ hymselfe dreded sore for these thynges consydring that for his brothers faute in tyme to cōe he shulde nat auoyde the dysplesure of the senatours and cōmens of Rome. For as he cōiectured all his brothers dedes shulde redounde to his dyshonour and paryll/ bycause he had lymited hym in Numidy in his stede to be captayn of the army in his absence. Wherfore (these thynges duly adupsed) he went to the senatours desyring them to take coūsell and adupsement whyther they wolde approbate and allowe the sayd composicion betwene his brother Julus and Jugurth: or els nat. But he knewe ryghtwell before that the senatours wolde nat conferme the same. Wherfore (in meane tyme whyle they were counselling) he elect soudyours for supplement to fulfyll and parforme agayne the army whiche was in Affrike/ & sore dempnished. For many of them were slayne by Jugurth and his cōpany. Wherfore Albinus rayled vp socours of suche as were ney to ỹ costes of Rome/ and frendes to thēpire: as Latynans & Italyans with other nacyons. Of these he rayled as many as he myght/ and assēbled them togyder by all meanes which he coude deuyse to fornysshe and augment his army. At conclusyon the senatours decreed in their counsell that no

¶ Sed vbi ea Romæ cōperta sunt: metus atque meror ciuitatem inuasere. Pars dolere pro gloria impij: pars insoliti bellicarum rerum timere libertati.

Aulo omnes infesti: ac maxime qui bello pclari sepe fuerāt q armatus dedecore potiusq manu salutem quesiuerat.

Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris inuidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de fœdere consulebat: tamen exercitui interim supplementum scribere.

A socijs et nomine latino auxilia accersere: denique omnibus modis festinare.

Senatus (vti par fuerat)

decernit ſuo atque popu li iniuſſu nullum potuiſ ſe fedus fieri.

bonde of peace nor compoſityon myght be allowed without their conſent and without the aduyſe and cõmaundement of ꝑ cõmen people alſo: as ryght and reaſon requyred. And thus was the ſayd compoſityon of Iulus abrogate/as thynge preſumed without conſent or cõmaundement of the ſenatours or cõmens. But whan the cõſull Albinus had ordayned and prepared ſupplement of his army (as ſayd is) he was prohybet & letted by the protectours of the cõmenty: Inſomoch ꝑ he was nat ſuffred by them to conuey ſuch company as he had rayſed into Affrike/with hym as he intẽded to repayre and fornyſſhe the army which they remayned. Wherfore he ſpedde hymſelfe forth into Affrike dyſapoynted of his purpoſe with a ſmall cõpany of men/of his owne retynue. The army of the romayns which he before had cõmytted to Iulus his brother: acordyng to the apoyntment with Jugurth/ was departed forth of Numidy. And to paſſorth the wynter/ tarryed in a prouynce of Affrike which was ſubget to thempyre of Rome. Whã Albinus the conſull was arryued and come thyder: his mynde ardẽtly was kyndled with deſyre to purſue Jugurth/ and to remedy the ylwyll & dyſpleaſure which the cõmens at Rome had agaynſt Iulus his brother. Neuertheles whan he knewe the maners & yll behauyour of ꝑ ſoudyours: of whom ſome wer fled tretourouſly to Jugurth (as is ſayd before) and ſome by ſufferaunce of their captayne were infected and corrupted with ouermoch pleaſure/dyſſolute lyberty/and voluptuous lyuynge: this conſydring he concluded (as the caſe requyred) to do nothyng for a ſeaſon: and to attempt no maiſtry: but to paſſe forth the wynter with his army without remouyng or puttyng hymſelfe in ieopdy or paryll. ¶ In the mean ſeaſon whyle Albinus & his army ſoiourned in the prouynce of Affrike tyll the winter wer ouerpaſſed. At Rome was one named Caius Manlius elect & lymited protectour of the cõmen people whiche anon after he was ſet in authorite: aſſembled the cõmens: and deſyred and counſayled them that inquiſicyon myght be made of all ſuch by whoſe ſupportacyon and coũſell Jugurth had dyſppled and ſet at nought the ordynaunces decreed of ꝑ ſenatours. And agaynſt thẽ which had reſtored agayne to Jugurth the elyphantes which he had delyuerd to Calphurnius at the firſt cõpoſicion & apoyntment which was made whim. And alſo agaynſt thẽ which had receyued any money or other rewards of Jugurth whyle they wer embaſſadours or captains of armies ayenſt hym: ſend forth by ꝑ romains. And finally

Conſul impeditus a tribuno plebis ne quas parauerat copias ſecũ portaret: paucis diebus in Aphricam proficiſcitur.

Nã omnis exercitus(vti cõuenerat)Numidia deductus in prouincia hyemabat.

Poſtq̃ eo ventum eſt (q̃q̃ perſequi Iugurtham et mederi fraterne inuidie animus ardebat) cognitis militib⁹ quos preter fugam ſoluto imperio licẽtia atque laſciuia corruperat ex copia rerũ ſtatuit ſibi nihil agendum.

Interi Rome Caius Manlius limitanus tribunus ſpl. rogationem ad populum promulgat vti quereretur in eos quorũ cõſilio Iugurtha ſenat⁹ decreta neglexiſſet: et qui tradidiſſent elephantos et pfugas: quique ob eo aut in legationibus aut imperijs pecunias acceppiſſent.

Item qui de pace/ aut

the ſame

the ſame inquiſicion alſo was extẽded agaynſt all ſuch as had made any pactions/ apoyntmentes/ or promyſes of peace or of watr with ennemies of thẽpyre without generall cõſent of the ſenatours or cõmens. ¶ Whan this inquirie was moued: many of the ſenatours & noble men of Rome knewe themſelfe culpable in ꝑ ſayd artycles. And other ſome doubted ſore of perils for to come: bycauſe of ꝑ ylwyll & malyce which ꝑ partie of the cõmens cõfederat had agaynſt thẽ. wherfor ſuch ꝑ ſame noble men myght nat well reſyſt the exampnation of theſe artycles openly: but of neceſſyre they muſt agre therto: other elſ knowlege theſelfe (by their reſyſtence) gylte in the ſame: therfore they prepared impedyment myuely agaynſt ſuch inquiſicions by their frendes: but ſpecially by the ſclawes of thẽpyre which were confederate with the romayns/ as Italyans & Latinyans. The princes of theſe natyons & ſuch other lyke gaue counſell to the ſenatours which were nat fauty in the prempſes/ and alſo to the cõmenty: that in ſuche a troublous/ buſy/ & perylous ſeaſon no ſuche exampnations ſhulde be made nor procede forwarde to effect: for drede of many inconuenyences which of the ſame myght ryſe bytwene the noble men and cõmens. But (this nat withſtandyng it is a mercuylous thyng and in maner incredyble to ſpeke of: how buſy and dyligent ꝑ cõmens were to haue the ſame inquyſicion to procede/ and to be broght to effect: and that rather for hatered which they had agaynſt the noble men (agaynſt whom the ſayd inquiſycion was ordayned) thã for any good wyll or care/ whith they had to the cõmen wele. So great pleaſure and deſyre of barrance was among them. Wherfore whyle the remenant of the noble men were ſore troubled with fere and drede. Marcus Scaurus which was before ſent into Affrike with Calphurni⁹ (as I haue ſayd) prouyded for himſelfe in crafty maner as I ſhall nowe declare. Whyle the cõmenty was mery & ioyeous of this exampnation and many of the company of Scaurus ꝑ knew themſelfe fauty fledde for fere. And the hole cyte was in moch drede and Manlius obtayned his peticyon and wyll of the cõmente. In ſomoch that anone were ordayned thre noble men cõmyſſioners to exampne ꝑ thre artycles before reherſed and here inſuyng of whom the firſt was of them which counſelled Jugurth to dyſpyce the decreis of the ſenatours and that toke money or rewardes of hym. The ſeconde was of them ꝑ ſolde agayne to Jugurth the forſayd elyphantes and the Numidyens that left Jugurth cõmyng on the romayns ſyde. And the

bello cum hoſtibus pacti ones feciſſent.

Huic rogationi partim conſciſ ſibi: aliſ ex parti um inuidia pericula metuentes: quoniam aparte reſiſtere non poterunt quã illa & alia talia placere ſibi fatereꝫtur occulte ꝑ amicos ac maxime ꝑ homines nominis latini eo ſocios Italicos ſpedimenta parabant.

Sed plebs (icredibile memoratu eſt) q̃tum intenta fuerit q̃taque vi rogationem iuſſerit: magis odio nobilitatis (cui illa mala parabantur) q̃ cura reſpublice.

Tãta libido in partibus erat. Igitur cæteris pculſis metu Marcus Scaur⁹ quem legatum Beſtie ſupra memorauimus inter leticiam plebis et ſuorũ fugã trepidãetiam tunc ciuitatem quũ ex Mãlij rogatiõe tres queſitores rogarẽtur; effecerat vti ipſi eo munere cteretur.

Cterum mos partiū popularium: et senatꝰ actionum: ac deinde omnium malarum artiū paucis ante annis Rome ortus est orio atque habūdantia earum rerumque prima mortales ducūt.

Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus romanꝰ placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant. Neq; glorie certamen neq; dominationis inter ciues erat. Metus hostilis in bonis artibus ciuitatem retinebat.

Sed vbi illa formido a mentibus discessit: scilicet ea que res secunde amant: lasciuia/atque superbia incessere. Ita (quod

Sed questione exercita aspere: vt fit: et ex tumore et libidine plebis: et sepe nobilitatem sic ex tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia cepit.

apud ciuitatem vna de illis quibus nihil opus est.

Hinc cognationi partium conuicii libitum ex partium inuidia periculaque

## Of wherof the dyscorde and takyng of parties bytwene the noble men and comens of Rome/ had firste begynnyng. ¶ The .xxvii. chapter.

This maner of deuision of the comens fro the estates of Rome. This dyscorde and takyng of parties bytwene them: and this inordynate custom of all other incōuenyences/ began among them but a fewe yeres before this tyme by meane of ouer moche rest and ydlenes: by superfluous habūdance of richelle/ voluptuosyte/ & of other worldely delectacyons: which many count and repute for moost chiefe pleasures of this lyfe. For before the dyffruction of Carthage/ the senatours and comenty of Rome treated and gouerned the cōmen wele bytwene them peasably in loue and concorde. So that a monge the ptesyns was no stryfe nor debate/ for laude/ excellence/ for dygnite/ nor for great dominyon. The drede which they had of their enemies made them ware and kept them in good maners/ callyng them to gouern their tyte with good & vertues inhyrited/ without bargayne/ without robery/ without oppression/ without slaughter/ nor other lyke cruell tyrannies. But whan Carthage was ouercome anone was expulsed fere from their myndes: and voluptuosite/ wantones/ and pride (which ar greatly loued in welth and prosperite) anone entred their myndes. So that they delyred peace/ whā they had warre.

warre. But whan the warre was ended: and that they had peace and ydlenes after their owne desyre their peace & rest was more sharpe/ more bytter/ more intollerable/ and more perylous to them than the warr was before. For the estates began to tourne their dygnite and worshyppe/ into immoderate affectyon of great lordshyppe and dompnation. And the cōmen people began to tourne their lybertie into lust and pleasure. Euery man prouyded and drewe to hymselfe robbyng and reauynge without measure/ frō the cōmen wele. Thus was the cōmentie abstract and deuyded from the lordes. So was the cyte deuyded into two partes. And the cōmen wele which was in the myddes betwene them on euery syde was pylled/ robbed/ and vtterly wasted of them both: on both sydes. But the power of the noble men and of their party was more myghtie than the power of the cōmens. For all ꝑ estates were all togyder assembled/ contoyned/ and bnyed. But the cōmens were dysperssed and spredde abrode into dyuerse places and companyes gettyng their lyueng with labour of their handes & swet of their bodyes. So euery thyng was gouerned both in peace and in warr at pleasure and auyse of a fewe prtuate noble mē The cōmen treasour/ the prouynces/ maistershyppes/ offices trybutes/ worshyppe/ tryumphes/ and all other thynges longyng to honour or auantage were onely in handes and possession of the same fewe noble men. But the symple cōmen peple was werped and oppressed with pouerty/ with batayle/ and warfare. Euer in ieopardy/ and neuer in auantage or lucre. For ꝑ captayns with a fewe other noble men pulled such prayes as were taken in batayle onely to their synguler auantage and behofe. But in ꝑ mean season the parentes and small chyldren of the soudyours were drtuē from their dwellyng places by the sayd noble men: echone of thē by that lordeby nto whom they dwelled nerest. And so the might and power of soche noble men contoyned with immoderate couetyse assayled/ defyled/ wasted/ and dystroyed euery thyng without good maner without measure or moderatyon: hauyng no respect nor cōsyderatyon of any thyng belongyng to goodnes or vertue: tyll they had so farforth proceded that at conclusion they were dystroyed and ouerthrowen by theyr owne obstinate prde and tyrāny. But at last allone as euer some of the estates were fōūde which remembrīng and consydrīng themselfe: set more by true and laudable glory/ than by intust power/ and dygnite. And were moued in myndes by compassion to shewe mercy &

in aduersis rebus optauerant) ocium postq̄ adepti sunt acerbius/ asperiusque tulere.

Nam cepere nobilitas dignitatē in dnationē: populus libertatē in libidinem vertere: sibi quisq; ducere ttahere/ rapere.

Ita omia in duas partes abstracta sunt. respublica/ quæ media fuerat dilacerata est.

Cæterū nobilitas factione magꝭ pollebat plebis.

Vis soluta ac dispersa i multitudine minus poterat.

Paucorum arbitrio belli domique respublica agitabatur: penes eosdē erarium/ prouincie/ magistratus/ glorie/ triumphe que erant.

Populus militia atque i opia vrgebatur.

Predas bellicas impatores cū puacis diripiebāt.

Interea parētes aut parui liberi militū vti quisque potentiori confinis erat: sedibus pellebant.

Ita cum potencia auaritia sine modo modestiaq; inuadere/ polluere/ et vastare omnia: nihil pēsi neque sancti habere quo ad semetipsā precipitauit.

Nā postq̄ Tiberius et Caius Gracchus: quorū maiores i punico bello atq; aliis multum respublicæ addiderāt: vendicare plebem in libertatē: et paucorum scelera patefacere: capere nobilitas noxia atque eo pculsa modo p socios ac nomē latinū: interdum per equites romanos: quos spes societatis à plebe dimouerat Gracchorum actionibus obuiā erat: et primo Tiberiū deinde paucos post annos ingredientem eadem Caium tribunum: alterum triumuirū in educendis coloniis cū Marcho Fuluio Flacco ferro necauerat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victorie nō satis moderatus fuit. Sed bonō vinci satius est q̄ malo more iniuriā vincere.

Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex libidine sua vsa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga extinxit: plusq̄ in reliquum sibi timoris q̄ potentie addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas ciuitates pessundedit dū alteri alteros vincere quouis modo et victos acerbius vlcisci volunt. Sed de studijs partium oibusque ciuitatis

pyte agaynst the cōmentie and to socour their misery/ than began the cyte to be troubled and moued greuously for the courage of the cōmens was reuyued by supportacyon of such noble men: by meanes wherof dyscorde and deuysion began to ryse in the cite/ as it were dyre dust of the grounde rayled in a great and tēpestyous wynde. For after that Tyberius Graccus/ and Caius Graccus (whose progenytours moche encreased the cōmen wayle in many batayls/ but namely in the bataile of Carthage) began to restore the commentie into their olde lyberty/ and to detect the cruell mysdedes of the fewe iniurious estates. Than all the lordes cōfederate: and after maner chafed: with yre assembled their felawes/ as Latynyans and some knyghtes of Rome/ which in hope of promocion left the cōmens party and helde with the nole men. All these with such as were to them lenyng of other nacyons began to withstande the accusemētes of both the sayd Graccus/ which were fauouters of the cōmenty: and first of all they slewe Tiberius Graccus. And after that within a fewe yeres they slewe the other brother named Caius Graccus/ whyle he was pctour of ꝑ cōmenty: bycause that he acordyng to lawe & ryght deuyded among the poore cōmente such landes as they had won in batayle of their ennemies. And at the same season the estates put to dethe allo a lorde named Marcus Flaccus/ bycause he defended the cōmens lyberte agaynst their extorcion. But touchyng the two brethern Tyberius/ and Caius Graccus: sothly their myndes were greatly immoderate and vnmesurable in their desyre to ouercome the estates. Neuertheles it had be moche better to the estates to haue suffred them in their ryght wyse tytell/ & somwhat to haue inclyned to their myndes than to haue ouercome them so byolently and slayne them so iniuously/ how beit that they wer ouer hasty and bely. But whan the estates had ꝑ victory of them after their desyre and pleasur than put they to dethe the cōmenty without nombre/ and many they exiled & droue out of the cite. In somoch that frō thens forth they rather encreased their cruelte and feare to the commens/ than their owne honoure or power. By which meanes many worthy rytees haue often tymes ben dystroyed whyle the estates and commens contende the one/ to ouercome the other/ by one meane or other. And whyle the party byctoure wyll punysh the ouer greuously that party which is ouercome. But yf I wolde prepare to write of the besynesse and dedes of both the parties seriatly and dystinctly. And yf I shuld touche

all the

all the maners of the cyte acordyng to the gretnesse of the mater and as it requyreth: sothely the tyme shuld fayle me rather than the mater. Wherfore I wyll omyt this superfluous and infenite besynes/ and retourne to my first mater and purpose touchyng this cronycle of this tyrranne Jugurth.

## Howe Metellus was creat consull and send by the Romayns to warre agaynst Jugurth: and of the wyse and dyscrete behauour of the same Metellus.

### The.xxviii.chapyter.

After the truse and composicion of Aulus before sayed made with Jugurth/ & the foule and shamefull flight of the romayne army: Quintus Metellus/ and Marcus Syllanus/ were creat and proclamed consuls of Rome/ which acordynge to the olde custome parted and deuyded the prouynces belongyng to Rome bytwene them bothe. The countrey of Numidy fell and happened to Metellus. This Metellus was a fierse man and a noble and a worthy warryour. And how beit he fauoured the party of the noble mē and was contrary to the partie of the cōmens: neuerthels he was of fame vndefyled and vnuyolate/ and counted of good name indyfferently on both parties. Assone as euer this Metellus entred in his office and dygnite/ he thought that euery thyng apartayning to his rowme and charge belonged aswell to his partynge felawe as to hymselfe/ saue the warre of Numidy: which onely belonged to hymselfe and to his partyculer charge: Wherfore he commytted all other charges to Syllanus/ and onely sette his mynde to make prouysion for the warre agaynst Jugurth. But bycause he mistrusted ỹ olde army whiche was in Numidy with Albynus and Aulus/ and had no cōfydēce in the myndes of these foudyours corrupted with ydelnes and many other vyces: therfore he elected and assembled newe foudyours. And of all suche as were felawes and frendes cōfederate to the Romayns/ he called for helpe and socours. He prepared and made redy armoure/ weppyn/ horse harnes/ and all other ordynaūce expedyent to warfare. And also

Post Aulī fedus: exercitusque nostri fugam sedā Quintus Metellus & Marcus Sillanus consules designati prouincias inter se partiuerant.

Metello q Numidia obuenerat: acri viro: et q̄q̄ aduersō populi partib⁹: fama tamen æquabili et inuiolata.

Is vbi primum magistratū ingressus est: alia omnia sibi cum collega coaptatus: ad bellū quod gestarus erat aim intēdit.

Igitur diffidēs veteri exercitui: milites eligere: scribere: presidia vndiq accersere: arma/ tela/ equos/ et cætera instrumēta militie parare: ad hoc cōmeatum affatim: denique omnia quæ in bello vario et multarum rerū egenti vsui esse solent.

Cæterum ad ea patranda senatus authoritate socij nomẽque latinũ et reges vltro auxilia mittere. Postremo omis ciuitas summo studio adnitebantur.

Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis cõpositisque in Numidiam proficiscitur magna spe ciuiũ: tum propter artis bonas: tũ maxime q̃ aduersum diuitias inuictũ animum gerebat: & auaritia magistratuum ante id tẽpus in Numidia nostre opes contuse: hostiũque aucte erant. Sed vbi in Aphricam venit exercitus ei traditur a Spurio Albino pro cõsule imbecillis neq; persiculi neque laboris patiens: lingua q̃ manu prõptior: predator ex socijs et ipse preda hostium sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori nõ no plus e malis maioribus solicitudinis q̃ ex copia militũ auxilij aut bõne spei accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus q̃q̃ et estiuorum tps comitiorũ mora imminuẽ tat: et expectatione euentus ciuium aos intentos putabat: non prius bellum attingere: q̃ maiorũ disciplinam milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus Auli frat is exercitusq; clade pculsus postq̃ de-

he ordayned abundaunce of vytayls. And shortly to speke all thynges he ordayned which ar wont to be necessary and profytable to the varyable chaunces and incertayne accydentes/ & troubles of bataple whiche requyreth reparacyon of many thynges and chargeable. But suche as were felawes of ỹ empyre of Rome at instaunce and request of the senatours: and by their authorite and by ỹ Latynians/ and many other strãge kynges of their owne frewyll sent socours to Metellus to auaunce hym in his enterpryse: And shortely to speke the hole cytie laboured withall their myght to socoure and ayde Metellus in his besynesse. Thus at last whan euery thynge was prouyded and sette in order after his pleasur and intent: than toke he his iournay into Numidy/ with great hope of all the cytezins of Rome that for his good maners: and specially for that his mynde was vnouertõe with rychesse or couetyse that he shulde do more honoure to the empyre than his predecessours had in the warre of Numidy. For before his departynge the welth of Numidy (by couetyse of the officers of Rome) was augmented: but the welth of the Romayns wasted and dempnisshedde. Whan Metellus was come to Affryke/ the army was delyuered vnto hym by Albynus: whiche army was vncrafty/ sluggysshe/ and feble nouther able to endure paryll nor labour/ of tunge more redy/ fiers/ and hardy than of hande: which was wont to robbe/ and pyll from frẽdes and frẽdes of the empyre. But it selfe enduredde by cowardyse to be robbedde and spoyledde of ennemies of the empyre/ as a lawlesse and dysordredde company of men vngouerned and without authorite or maners. Wherfore Metellus the newe cappytayne hadde moche more thought and besynesse for suche corrupt and vycious maners of q̃ company so farre out of order/ than he hadde helpe or good hope of confort in the multytude of them. Thus howbeit he sawe the tyme of electyon of newe consuls drawe nere. And all yf he also vnderstode that the Romayns dayly loked after some ende of the warre. These causes nat withstandyng yet he concluded/ nat to begyn ỹ warre tyll he hadde exercysed and vsedde the soudyours with besynesse and labour after the instructyon and custome of olde cappytayns/ vsed before his tyme. For why Albynus was so astonyed with the aduersyte and myschaũce of his brother Aulus and for murdre of his hoost: that after he purposed nat to departe out of ỹ romayns pupnce which was in Affrike/ he kept the soudyours alway ydell in theyr tentes as longe as the somer

mer season lasted and as long as he was in authorite in somoche that they chaunged no place except the corrupt sauoure of the place/ or els necessyte of vytayle constrayned thē to remoue. Nor accordynge to the custome and maner of warryours amonge them was no watche: but euery man came and went at his owne pleasure/ and absented themselfe from their standardes whan it lykedde them. The scolyons/ and pages wandred day & nyght mengledde among the horsemen and chiefe of the soudyours without any order: And many other as rouers dysperssedde abrode destroyed the countrey/ fyghtynge agaynst the small vyllages/ and nat agaynst cytees nor townes. They caryed away from the sayd vyllages prayes of cattell: and the inhabytauntes ledde away also with them as prisoners with other prayes stryuinge togyder who nyght haue moost/ and than after chaunged ꝑ sayd roberies with marchauntes for delycious and strong wynes brought and caryed from other strange contreis/ where better wyne grewe thā in that countrey: and for other such delycious thynges. They solde away the whete/ and other vytayles which was delyueredde of their capytayns amonge them in commen and dayly they bought their bredde. And finally what euer shame or rebuke longynge to couetyse or lechery: coude outher be sayed/ done/ or ymagynedde of any man: all was vsed in that hoost. And among some: more shamefull dedes than ought to be named. But Metellus behaued hymselfe as a mighty and wyse man/ nat lesse in this dyffyculte and hardnesse/ than yf it had ben in a batayle foughten agaynst his ennemies as he whiche in myddes of so great couetyse/ voluptuosyte/ and cruelty was singulerly indued with temperaunce: and meruaylous good maner vsed he/ in coartynge the same fautes. Wherfore at the first begynnynge he withdrewe and auoyded from the army at his commaundement and ordynaunce: the occasyons whiche styrredde the soudyours to suche slouth/ cowardyse/ and voluptuosyte. For he commaunded vnder great payne that no ꝑson shulde be so hardy to sell amonge the soudyours nouther bredde nor other vytayle all reddy dressed saue the cōmen ꝑuicyon: ꝑ the pages/ waterlaggers/ and scolyons shuld nat cōuerte the army/ nor folowe the same. That none of the cōmen and symple soudyours shulde kepe or mentayne seruaunt nor beest in their tentes nor vyage or army/ whyle they moued fro place to place. These incōueyences first of all he redressedde and reformed. After these amended: all other fautes he mesu

creuerat non egredi prouincia q̄tum tēporis æstiuorū in imperio fuit: plerumque milites in statutis castris habebat: nisi cum odor haud pabulie gestas locum mutare sub egerat. Sed neque more militari vigilie ducebantur: vti cuiq; libebat absignis aberat. Lixæ ꝑmixti cum equitibus die noctuque vagabātur: & palantes agros vastare: villas expugnare: pecoris & mācipiorum predas certantes agere: eaque mutare cū mercatorib⁹ provino aduecticio et alijs talibus.

Præterea frumentum publice datum vendere: panem indies mercari. Postremo quecunq; dici aut fingi queunt ignauie luxurieq; probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere: et alia amplius. Sed in ea difficultate Metellū non minus q̄ in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientē virum fuisse cōperio: tāta temporātia inter ambitionem seuitiamq; moderatū. Nāq; edicto primo adiumenta ignauiæ dī sustulisse ne quis q̄ in castris panem aut quem/ alium cibum coctum venderet: ne lixe sequerētur exercitum: ne miles gregarius in castris: ne ue in agmine seruū aut iumētum haberet.

Ceteris arte modum statuisse. Præterea trāsuer-

sis tenentib⁹ quotidie ca
stra mouere: vallo ac fos
sa munire: vigilias cre-
bras ponere: et eas ipse
cum legatis circũire.

Item ĩ agmine inprimis
modo: modo ĩ postremis:
sæpe in medio adesset: ne
quispiam ordine egrede-
retur: vt cum signis fre-
quẽtes incederent miles
cibum et arma portaret.

Ita prohibẽdo a delictis
magisq̃ vindicando exer
citum breui cõfirmauit.

red by his wysdome/craft/ and policy: refourmynge them by lytell and lytell. This done (to haue his soudyours occupyed) he moued daylie from place to place: and that nat in wayes cõ men and vsed/ but by harde and vnoccupyed wayes. He caused them daylie to cast dychesse and trenches about the army/ to the intent that they shulde nat wax slouthfull/ nor vycious by ouermoche rest and ydlenesse. He ordayned often watch amonge them euery night: and he hymselfe accompanyed with his vnder captayns and heed officers often serched yf the wat ches were truely kept/ compassynge about the army on euery syde. Whyle they remoued and chaunged places: somtyme he was in the forwarde and amonge the first/ somtyme in ꝑ rere warde or hynder part/ and anone in the myddes ouerseynge their order to the intent that none shulde passe out of order/ a ray/ and place to them assigned. But kepe thicke togyder euery man and company about their owne standerdes/ and also he ordayned that among themselfe they shulde conuey and cary their owne vytayls and armoure. And thus in short tyme he confermed and sette the army in good order rather with fayre wordes/ or rebukyng and blamynge their fautes: and pro hybityng their disorder: than in chastysinge or punysshyng their offences with crueltie.

## Of the behauour of Jugurth agaynst Metellus: and howe he sende embassadours to Metellus requyrynge vnfaynedly to yelde vp the kyngdome of Numidy to the empyre of Rome: And howe Metellus behaued hymselfe agaynst the same embassadours. The.xxix.chappyter.

Interea Iugurtha vbi
ea quæ Metellus agebat
ex nunciis accepit: simul
de innocentia eius certi-
or Rome factus diffidere
suis rebus: ac tum demũ
veram dedicationem fa-
cere conatus est.

IN the meane season whan Jugurth vnderstode by messangers and espyes of this behauour of Metellus/ and also whã he remẽbred that whiche was informed to hym at Rome of the integryte and vndefyled name of Metellus/ which wolde nat be corrupt with money nor accloyed with bybes lyke other before: anone he beganne to mystrust his matters and to haue lasse confydence in his cause/ than euer he had before. In somoche that than he began to labour to yelde

to yelde hymselfe vnfaynedly/ and to make a true compoſytion with Metellus/ and the Romayns without any fyction/ gyle/ or dyſceyt. Wherfore he ſende embaſſadours to Metellus with ſupplycations/ and peticyons requyring humbly of Metellus to graunt to hym his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chyldren onely: and concernynge all other thynges he wolde yelde thē into handes of the Romayns. But Metellus knewe well ynough longe before this tyme by often experyence and proofe that the Numydians of naturall dyſpoſityon were vnfaythfull/ mouable/ and vnſtable of myndes: newfangledde/ and moche deſyrous of newe deſyneſſes and newelties. Wherfore he begamme with the embaſſadours of Jugurth/ taſtyng and proupnge the mynde of eche of them/ by lytell and lytell: and ſeperately one by one. And whan he knewe that they ſomwhat inclyned to his myndе: he than promyſed to them great gyftes and promocion ſo that they wolde do ſome pleaſure for hym and for the ſenatours and people of Rome. Than at laſt he counſayled and deſyred them to delyuer Jugurth to hym alyue ſpecially if it myght be brought about: and yf they coude nat ſo/ than to delyuer hym outher quicke or deed. But whan he had made this apoyntment ſecretly with themballadours deuyded in ſonder one by one: than openly (that euery man myght here) he ſhewed to them all togyder other thynges as his pleaſure was that they ſhuld certyfie their kyng Jugurth concernynge their embaſſade. After this within fewe dayes whan he ſawe his hooſt mooſt redy and contrary to Jugurth he remoued his tentes and ſo addreſſed hym with his army redy in aray and went forward into Numidy: where contrary to any ſimplytude of warre the vyllages and cotages were full of men/ the feldes full of beeſtes & cyrmen: and euery whey was moche plenty of people yonge and olde namely rude people and tyllers of the grounde/ which had ſtyll fledde before the army in forſetyme forfere/ but at ꝑ laſt whan they ſawe no defence nor ſocoure the kynges lewtenantes and all other left their townes/ vyllages/ and lodges: and went forthe to mete Metellus withall humplite/ honour/ and ſcrupee ſubmyttinge themſelfe to hym/ and redy to gyue to him whete and other corne ſuche as they had. And to carry vytayles after his hooſt to eaſe the ſouldyours and to do and parfourme all other thynges what euer they were cōmaunded. But for all this: Metellus was nat leſſe dyligent nor circūſpect in orderyng of his hooſt/ but proceded forwarde togyder with his army in aray

Igitur legatos ad conſulem cum ſupplicijs mittit. Qui tantūmodo ipſi liberisque vitā peterēt: alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello iā antea experimētis cognitum erat genus numidarum infidum ingenio mobili nouarū rerum auidum eſſe. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diuerſos aggredit: ac paulatim tentando poſtq̄ opportunos ſibi cognouit: multa pollicēdo perſuadet vt Iugurtham maxie viuum: ſin id parum procedat: necatum ſibi traderent.

Cætera palam quæ ex voluntate forent nunciari regi iubet.

Deinde paucis diebus intento atque infeſto exercitu in Numidiam procedit. Vbi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum: pecora/ cultoresq; in agris erant: ex opidis et mapalibus præfecti regis obuiam procedebant parati frumentum dare: comeatum portare.

Poſtremo omnia quæ imperarentur facere.

Neque Metellus idcirco min⁹ ſed pariter ac ſi hoſtes adeſſent: munito agmine icedere: late explo-

rare: omnia illa deditionis signa ostẽtui esse crederet: et insidijs locũ tentare.

Itaque cum expeditis cohortibus: item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat. Postremo Caius Marius legatus cũ equitibus curabat. In vtrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionũ et prefectis cohortum dispartiuerat: vt cum his velites pmixti quocũque accederent: equitatibus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tãtus dolus/ tantaque peritia locorum et militie erat: vt absens: an presens pacem an bellum gerens pernitiosior esset: in incerto haberetur. Erat haud lõge abeo itinere quo Metellus pgebat opidũ Numidarum noie Vacca forum rerum venaliũ totius regni: et maxime celebratũ vbi et incolere: & mercari res confueuerat Italici generis multi mortales. Huic cõsul simul tẽtandi gra et capiundi (si paterent oportunitates loci) presidiũ imposuit. Preterea impauit frumẽtum et alia q̃ bello vsui forent cõportare: ratus (id quod res monebat) frequẽtiam negociatorũ et cõmeatũ et iã paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impẽsius modo legatos

redy in armoure/ & defended as yf their ennemis had ben nere at hande serchynge the countrey abrode on euery syde by his espyes doutynge treason and thynkynge that all these tokens of subiectyon were but for a face or cloke to couer the treason & gyle of Jugurth. And so by suche dyscept to wayt a tyme to execute his treason. Wherfore Metellus thus myscdempyng kept hymselfe in the forwarde of the batayle with an elect and chosen company of archers/ slyngers/ and other lyke soudyours apoynted in lyght harnes. His vnder captayne Caius Marius had rule and charge of the rerewarde among ỹ horsmen and on bothe the wynges of his hoost he ordayned horsmen & other soudyours for supplement/ subsidy/ and socours of the forwarde yf nede shulde requyre/ and amonge them to expell their ennemies on what syde so euer they shuld cõe/ were mẽgled bowmen and other lightharnysed fotemen with dartes/ pykes/ and tauelyns to trouble ỹ horsmen of their ennemies. For in Jugurth was somoch gyle so great experience & knowledge of the countrey/ and also so great practyse of chyualrie: that a man coude nat well knowe whether he were more to be douted or more greuous in peace or in warre/ or whyls he was absent or presnt. That fare from that way which Metellus helde with his army was a towne of the Numydians moche acustomed and frequented of marchantes of Italy and other strange countreis: and the principall market towne of all the kingdome of Numidy. This towne was named Vacca/ Metellus drewe hym & his army thyder/ and set garnyson into ỹ same towne. This dyd he to proue the myndes of the inhabytantes: for if they had kept forth the garnyson/ than shuld thei euydently haue declared themselfe ennemies of the romayns. And also he ledde a garnyson thyder to thintent to haue taken the towne by force of armes/ yf the inhabytauntes wolde nat haue admytted the same garnyson. Also he cõmaunded bytayls/ and all other thynges whiche were necessary or expedyent to warre for to be brought thyder thynkyng (as the case required) that the cõcours of marchãtes resortyng thyder. And his good prouysion of bytayls shuld be great defence and cõseruacyon for hym & his army bothe in warre & in peace. But whan ỹ citezins sawe such purueyãce as he made of vitels cõsidryng ỹ he shuld nat hurt nor dispraysyde them whyle he had bytell ynough of his owne puysion: anon they opened ỹ gates & suffred him to entre wall his garnyson & retynue. But in the mean tyme Jugurth agayn send his embassadors to Metellus

lus moze dyligently and instauntly than he had done befoze/ mekely besechynge and requyzinge Metellus of peace: And yeldyng vnto hym enery thyng onely reserued his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chyldzen. Metellus send these embassadou res home agayne attysedde to the pzodycion of their mayster Jugurth as he hadde done to the other embassadours which were sent befoze. But concernynge the peace which they desy redde in their maisters name: nouther he graunted noz vtter ly denyed it. And in this pzolongynge of tyme he lokedde al way after parfourmyng of the pzomesse of the other embassa dours/ which befoze hadde graunted and agreed to the pardi cyon and betrayeng of Jugurth. But whan Jugurth consy dzedde and pondered togyder the wozdes and dedes of Me tellus/ and whanne he parceyued in mynde hymselfe assayled with his owne craftes of subtylte: and that Metellus bledde suche craftes agaynst hym/ as he hym selfe had vsed agaynst other: than was his mynde greuedde moost of all. Foz Metel lus fayned peace/ but in very dedes he shewed sharpe warre. Jugurth thus consydzedde also: that his greattest towne na med Uacca/ was alyenate and lost from hym: his ennemyes by longe contynuaunce and exercyse knewe the coostes of his countrey of Numidy. The myndes of his lozdes and cõmens were pzouoked de and moued agaynst hym. Whanne he aduy sedde these dyfficultes with other mo contrary to hym he con cludedde and fully determyned at last to resyst and withstan de Metellus in batayle/ and with strẽgth and fozce of armes and no farther to submytte hymselfe by peticyon.

## Howe Jugurth prepared and addzessed hym selfe agayne to warre: and what ozdy naunce and polycy he vsed a gaynst the newe con sull Metellus

### The.xxx.chapyter.

Herfoze Jugurth thus determynnge to assayle hym caused the wayes of Metellus to be espyed hauyng hope of vyctozie by auaunce ment and auauntage of some place. Where he in tended of the place and countrey: and anone pze

supplices mittere: pacẽ rogare: preter suam libe rorumque vitam Metel lo omnia dedere.

Quos itẽ (vt priores) cõ sul illectos dimittebat ad proditionem: regi pã cem quam postulabat: ne que abnuere: neque polli ceri: et inter eas moras promissa legatorũ ex pe ctare.

Iugurtha vbi Metelli di cta cum factis composu it: ac se suis artibus ten tari aiaduertit: Quippe cui pax verbis nunciaba tur: cæterum re bellum a spertimũ erat. Vrbs ma xima alienata.

Ager hostibus cognitus animi popularium tenta ti: coactus rerum necessi tudine statuit armis cer tare.

Igit explorato itinere hostium in spem victoriæ adduct' ex opportunita te loci: q̃ maxias copias potest oim genere p. rat

ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli anteuenit.

Erat in ea Numidie parte: quã Adherbal indiuisione possederat: flumen oriens a meridie nomine Muthul: a quo mons aberat ferme milia passuũ viginti tractu pari: vasto a natura & humano cultu alienato: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebat: in immensum pertingẽs vestitus oleastro: ac myrthetis aliisq; arborũ generibus que humo arida atq; arenosa gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta erat penuria aq̃ preter flumini propiqua loca: ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

Igitur in eo colle: quem transuerso itinere porrectum docuimꝰ: Iugurtha extenuata acie suorũ cõsedit: elephantis et parti copiarũ pedestriũ Bomilcharem prefecit: eum edocet quæ ageret: ipse propior montem cũ omni equitatu atque peditibus delectis suos collocat.

Deinde singulas turmas et manipulos circũiens: monet atque obtestatur: vti memores pristine virtutis et victorie: sese: regnumque ab Romanorũ auaricia defendant. Cãhis certamen fore quos antea victos sub iugum miserint. Duce illis non animum mutatum.

pared the greatteſt army that he coude of all ſoꝛtes of people. This done: he dyde ſo moch that by hylles: naꝛow paſſage: and by pathes he pꝛeuented and ouer paſſed the hooſt of Metellus.

¶ In that parte of Numidy whiche beſoꝛe in deuyſion of the kyngdome was aſſignedde in poſſeſſyon to Adherball: was a flodde named Muthull: rennyng from ꝑ meridyonall part of the countrey. A certayne hyll hy and long was nere to this water: ſo that any place the hyll was about. rr. myle from the ſtreme and of equall dyſtance in length. The grounde of this hyll was of ſuch nature that euer it was barayne: wherfoꝛe it was nat apt to mennes habytacion but deſert. About ꝑ myddes and pendant of this hyll was an other hyll ſmaller of quãtyte: but of an vnmeſurable heght couereddе and all ouergrowen with wylde olyue trees: with Myꝛ trees: and other ſoꝛtes of trees wont to growe naturally on dꝛy & ſandy groũde. The playne which was by ꝑ hylles and the water was deſert and vnhabytable foꝛ penury and lacke of water: ſaue ſuch places of the playne as weꝛe nere to the flodde of Muthull which part was growen with ſmall trees and occupyed with men & beeſtes. Iugurth came to the ſayed ſmall hyll which that dyſcended from the pendant of the hyll graetter ouerthwart the valey. And they toke place with his army nat togyder but dyſperſed abꝛode amonge the trees by companyes and bendes: he made his frende Bomylchar capytayne and gouernour of his elyphãtes: and of part of his army of fotemen and inſourmed and taught hym parfitely how he ſhulde behaue hymſelfe and gouerne them whom he had commytted to hym bothe beſoꝛe the batayle: and alſo in the batayle whan it came to the poynt. But he hymſelfe dꝛewe nererre to the great hyll withall the hoꝛſmen & many of ꝑ fotemen which were elect and choſen men. And ſette them in oꝛdꝛe and array with moch polycy and wyſedome. This done: he hymſelfe went about and compaſedde euery company: cohoꝛt: and bende ſyngulerly: and one by one warnyng and requyꝛyng them to call to their mynꝺes their olde ſtrength: nobles: and byctoꝛie: and there by to defende them ſelfe and their countrey of Numidy from ꝑ immoderate couetyſe of the Romayns: which were nat content noꝛ ſatyſfied with the poſſeſſion of the mooſt part of ꝑ woꝛlde ſayng farthermoꝛe that they ſhuld fight but with ſuch as they beſoꝛe had ouercome & ſubdued. And howbeit they had chaũged their captayne: ꝑ cowardiſe of their mynde was nat chaũ

ged

ged: Also he reherſed and declared to them that he had made all prouycion for them which a cappytayne myght or ought to make for his army. He declared howe he had taken for them ꝑ vpper place that they were crafty in batayle and many in nõbre: and ſhulde fyght with a fewe vncrafty cowardys. Wherfore he deſyredde and exhorted them whan tyme ſhulde come that than they wolde be redy to aſſayle the Romayns manly at ſounde of the trũpettes/ for that one ſame day ſayd he ſhulde outher eſtabliſſhe all their laboures/ vyctories/ and beſynelles: or els it ſhulde be ꝑ heed and begynnyng of their moſt great myſchyefe/ and dyſtruccions. Moreouer throught out all his army he put them in remembrance man by man of the benefites which he had done to them before for their manly dedes of chyualry: as ſuch as for their worthynes he had rewarded with dygnite/ money/ offyces/ or other worſhyp: and ſhewed ſuch vnto other cõmen ſoudyours ſayeng ꝑ yf they wolde ſo demeane them ſelfe manly: ſo ſhulde they be promoted & auanced to worſhyppe and ryches. And thus he conforted thẽ all euery man after his maners and cõdycions/ ſome with giftes/ ſome with promyſſes/ ſome with threatnynges/ and other lyke ways acordyng to ꝑ dyſpoſicyon of their mynde and nature. ¶Whyle Jugurth thus exhorted his ſoudyours Metelus nought knowyng of his ennemies aperyd with his company deſcendynge downe the pendent of the great hyll whych ſeyng but fewe men: moche marueyled at firſt what it myght ſignyfie/ for he ſuſpected nothyng leſſe than batayle: but in beholdynge more intentyfly towarde the toppe of the ſmall hyll afore hym he eſpyed among the yong trees bothe horſe & men which were nat fully hydde/ bycauſe of the lowneſſe of ꝑ trees. yet was he incertayne what it myght be. For what by ſecretenes of the place: and what by gyle of Jugurth/ their baners & the mooſt part of the ſoudyours were obſcured and hydde lyeng downe vpon the grounde. But anone after whan he parceyued this gyle and treaſon: by lytell and lytell/ he ſet his army in array procedynge forwarde ſtyll as he dyde before faynynge hymſelfe ignorant of the treaſon. But he chaunged the order of his ſoudyours: and on the ryght ſyde which was nere to the Numidens his ennemyes/ he ordayned as it were a forwarde enforced with a thirde/ the ſubſidy or ſocoures ꝑ is to ſay wt thre bendes of pueplede/ to reſcue & helpe them whã nede ſhuld be. The bõdes which as wt ſlyng ſhuld caſt a gaiſt their ennis plũmett of ley ꝑſon/ & all other which wer

Quæ ac impatore decuerint omnia ſuis prouiſa ſa locum ſuperiorem: vti prudẽtes cum imperitis/ ne pauciores cum pluribus/ aut rudes cum bellõ melioribus/ manum conſererent: proinde pariti intentiq; eſſent ſigno dato Romanos inuadere. Illum diẽ: aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturũ: aut maximarũ erũnarum initiũ fore. Adhoc viritim: vti quẽq; ob militare facinus pecunia: aut honore extulerat cõmouefacere beneficij: et eum ipſum alijs oſtentare. Poſtremo pro cuiuſque ingenio pollicendo: minitando: oſtentando: aliũ alio modo excitare.

Cum interim Metellus ignarus hoſtium monte degrediens cum exercitu conſpicitur: primo dubius quidnam inſolita facies oſtenderet. Nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque conſederant neq; plane occultati humilitate arborum: et tamen incertum quidnam eſſet tum natura loci: tum dolò: ipſi atque militaria ſigna obſcurati. Deinde breui cognitis inſidijs pauliſper agmẽ cõſtituit Ibi cõmutatis ordinibus in dextro latere quod proximum hoſtib⁹ erat: triplicibus ſubſidijs aciem inſtruxit: inter manipulos funditores et ſagittarios diſpertit.

of light harnes: all these he deuyded among the standerdes of other soudyours as the case requyred: where as after ỹ ryght ordynaunce of batayle/ such soudyours by themselfe deuyded shulde begyn the batayle/ but in this batayle the sytuacion of the place nat so requyred. All the hole company of his horsmē he ordred in the extremytees and cornars of the forefront of ỹ batayle. This done as the breuyte of the tyme suffred he made a short exhortacion vnto his soudyours/ and so proceded forth with his hoost sette in aray in maner beforesayd: but bycause Jugurth was on the small hyll before hym and by that meane on the hyer grounde he thought to remedy that incōmodyte and led forth his hoost on the syde halfe nat toward Jugurth/ but along on the hyll syde towarde the flodde of Muthull/ into the playne which was bytwene the hyll and the flodde. But whan he sawe the Numidyans quyet and that they departed nat from the hyll which they had taken: he consydred the hete and faruentnes of the somer season. And lyst his army might perysshe for lacke or scarcite of water: he sent before one of his cappytayns named Rutylyus with a company of lyght harnest soudyours and part of his horsmen vnto ỹ flodde named Muthull for to take vp a place wherin they might sette theyr tentes in tyme of nede: thynkyng that his ennemies wyllyng to contynue longe in that place by often assautes and scarmysshes shuld dysturbe the romayns whyle they resorted to ỹ water. And for asmoche as the Numidyans trusted nat moch in their strength and armoure. He thought that they purposed & intended to trouble his soudyours with wetynes and thurst. Whan Rutylyus was gone towarde the water/ Metellus descended procedyng forth withall by lytell and lytell as the mater and place requyred: he cōmaunded one named Marius/ with his company to kepe in the rerewarde. But Metellus hymselfe with the horsemen kept hym in the lyft wynge of the forwarde of the batayle/ which alway remoued forward first of all his army.

equitatū omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tēpore mīlites hortatus: aciem secuti instruxerat: trāsuersis principijs in planum deducit.

Sed vbi numidas quietos neque digressos colle animaduertit: ex anni tēpore veritus et inopia aquæ ne sitī cōficeretur exercitus: Rutiliū legatum cū expeditis cohortibus/ & parte equitū premisit ad flumen: vti locū castris ante caperet: existimans crebro hostes impetu et transuersis prelijs iterū remoraturos: et (quoniam armis diffiderent) lassitudinem et sitim militum tētaturos. Deinde ipse pro re atque loco sicuti monte descēderat ac paulatim procedere Marium post principia habere: ipse cū equitib⁹ sinistere ale esse qui in agmine princeps facti erant.

## ¶ Of the first batayle foughten bytwene Metellus and Jugurth. The xxvi. chapyter.

¶ At Iugurtha vbi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt: præsidio qsi duum milium peditum mõtem occupat: quo Metellus descẽderat: ne forte cedẽtibus aduersariis receptui: ac post munimẽto foret. Deide repente signo dato hostes inuadit. Numidiæ alij postremos cædere pars a sinistra ac dextra tentare: infensi adesse: instare atque omnibus locis romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obuij hostib⁹ fuerant ludificati encerto prælio: ipsi modo eminus sauciabãtur: neq; cõtra feriendi aut conserẽdi manum copia erat.

Ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites: vbi romanorũ turmæ insequi cœperant non confertim neq; in vnum se recipiebant: sed alius alio q̃ maxime diuersi. Ita numero priores si a persequendo hostes deterrere nequiuerãt: disiectos a tergo aut a lateribus circunuenie bant. Sin oportunior fugæ collis quam cãpi fuerat. Ea vero loca consueti numidarum equi facile iter virgulta euadere: Nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

¶ At whan Jugurth sawe that the rereward of Metellus was passed his forwarde: he beset the hyll from which Metellus dyscended with two thousande fotemen by which garnyson if Metellus wold agayne take socour of ỹ same hyll/ he shuld be prohibyted and dryuen backeward agayne ito ỹ handes of Jugurth. This done: sodenly he dyd the trũpettes to be blowen & anone withall inuaded and set vpon the company of Metellus on euery syde. The Numidyens assayled and bete downe the romayns/ some on the rereward and other some dyd their deuoyre to breke the aray on both sydes: both on the right and lyft wyng/ withall their myght assaylyng the romayns/ and auaũsyng theselfe on euery syde to breke their array and ordynaunce. And after their power to trouble/ dystourbe/ and deuyde them. The romayns whiche were moost stable and bolde of myndes in metyng their ennemies were abused and dysceyued with the vncertayne batell. For their ordynaunce and aray was sette and strengthed onely but on one syde. But their ennemies assayled them on euery syde: so that sõtyme they were stryken & wounded of their ennemis frõ fary of/ but by no meanes coude they strike their ennemies agayne nor ioyne with them. For Jugurth had taught his Numidyans on horsebacke before the batayle that whan they shulde begyn to assayle the romayns: they shulde nat kepe them selfe togyder/ nor nere/ but almoche dysperssed as they coude/ and in dyuers places: one company here and an other there. And where the sowdyours of Jugurth coude nat auoyed nor repell the romayns which assayled them/ bycause they were mo in nombre: therfore they compased & trapped them behynde or on the sydes betyn of: and dysioynedde from their company. And where it fortuned any of them to flee the Numidyans had more auantage than the romayns. For where they fledde into the feldes: they assayled the Romayns on the backe halfe or els on both sydes in dyuers companyes. But where thei sawe it was more auayle and expedyent to flee agayne to the hyll where they set first their ordynaũce. They had also auantage therby for their horses were acustomed to mountaynes and combredde wayes/ wherfore they mounted with lesse dyfficultie/ but in contrary wyse the romayns for ỹ sharpnes of the hylles and lacke of vse coude nat folowe them in their assẽbling without moch dyfficulte/ payne/ and paryll.

Cæterum facies totí⁹ ne gocií varia: incerta: fe da atque miſerabilis:

But nat withſtandynge that Jugurthe and his men had the mooſt auantage of the countrey and grounde yet the batayle on both ſydes was varyable/ vncertayne/ vngoodly/ and my ſerable to beholde: for the beſt men ſoneſt were ſlayne and in mooſt ieopardy. For the courage and valyant myndes & bol de hertes of the romayns: was worth the gyle and treaſon of the Jugurthyns: and ſo on bothe ſydes he which was boldeſt and mooſt auaũced hymſelf was ſoneſt ouerthrowen. Some which were deuyded from their owne company and in hand⁹ of their ennemies/ gaue place to them and yelded themſelfe.

diuerſi a ſuis pars ſede re: alíj inſequi neq; ſigna neq; ordines obſeruare:

And agayne ſome folowed and chaſed their ennemies fleyng where they myght make their pty good: there reſyſted eyther partie manly. None of both parties kept vnder their ſtander des: nor folowed nat the order of batayle: nor kept none order nor array/ but euery man reſyſted and defended hymſelf they where mooſt ieopardy and paryll was layed to hym: and en deuoyred hymſelfe to withſtande the vyolence of his ennemis with hye valyantiſe. And ſo the armour defenſyfe/ dartes/ mẽ horſe/ Romayns/ Numidyans/ ſoudyours and pages were all confounded and mengledde togyder: without order or or dynaunce obſerued. Nothyng was done with dyſcreſſion of the ſoudyours nor with counſell of the cappytayns: vnauyſed fortune and chaunce gouerned all the beſyneſſe of that day: ſo vnſtable was the batayle.

Vbí quemq̃ periculũ ce perat ibi reſiſtere ac pro pulſare.

All was cõmytted to rule of fortune And thus paſſed forth moch of the day in great murder & ſlaughter/ yet ſtyll was the ende of the batayle vncertayne and non knewe whyther party ſhuld haue ỹ victorie. At laſt both parties with labour and heat began to languyſſhe and beco me wery. Metellus vnderſtandyng that ỹ Numidyans leſſe reſyſted inſyghtyng than they dyde before aſſembled and ga thered togyder agayn his ſoudyours by lytell and lytell/ and without tary reſtored the aray and ſet them agayne in order.

Arma/ tela/ equi/ viri/ ho ſtes/ atque ciues pmixti; nihil conſilio aut imperio agi: fors omnia regere.

And .iiii. cohortes taken forth of the legyons he ſet agaynſt ỹ fotemen of his ennemies. But before Metellus had thus aſſẽ bled his company: a great part of them oppreſſed with woun des & werynelle/ withdrewe themſelf to the hyll before named and to the hyer places from the batayle there to refreſſhe & reſt thẽſelfe. But whan Metellus (as ſayd is) had reaſembled thẽ agayne: he began in fewe wordes to pray and exhort thẽ in ſu che maner.

Itaque multum diei pro ceſſerat: cũ etiam tñ euẽ tus in incerto erat.

O worthy & truſty ſoudyours and cõpanyons dyſcourage nat your ſelfe in this batayle/ nor let nat your olde noblenelle nowe fayle you: ſuffre nat your ennemies wont to

Denique omnib⁹ labore et eſtu languidis Metel lus vbí videt Numidas minus inſtare: paulatim milites in vnum cõducit ordines reſtituit: et cohortes legionarias quatuor aduerſus pedi tes hoſtium collocat.

put their

Eorũ magna pars locis ſuperioribus feſſa conſe derat ſimul orare: horta ri milites ne deficerent.

Neu paterãtur hoſtes fu gientes vincere:

put their trust in flyght/ nowe to ouercome you by your feres full myndes. Remẽbre well: if ye be dyspoled cowardly to fle: ye haue no tentes/ no cyties/ no townes/ no castels/ nor no maner places of defẽce: wherto ye may renne for refuge and saue your selfe. your helth/ your hope/ & defence is onely in your armoure and strength: & specially in your bolde hertꝭ. Wherfore dere frẽdes remembre your olde worshyp: & suffre nat ꝑ hole empyre of Rome to suffre dysworshyp by your temerous and cowarde myndes. Remẽbre it worthyer to dy in batel lyke mẽ than to fle: and than to be taken & murdred lyke beestes/ or to dye in prison. With these wordes and suche lyke Metellus recõforted the hertes of his soudyours. But in meane tyme Jugurth for his part was nat ydle/ quyet nor lesse prouydẽt: but compased and went about his men confortyng and exhortyng them also and prayling their dedes. He renued the batayle also for his part: and among the myddes of his elect soudyours he fought and proued thertrempte of euery thyng: and assayd all meanes wherby any auantage myght be wonne cõforting and socouryng his men with wordes/ dedes/ and exãple. He boldely fought and assayled suche of the romayns as were in fear or dout: and such as he knewe and proued bolde and stedfast/ he kept them of with arowes/ tauelyns/ and dartes that they coude nat approche to their felowes to auaunce them nor to be socoured of them. Thus two worthy men noble and excellent captayns fought and contended togyder betwene thẽselfe. They themselfe lyke in strength/ courage/ wysedome/ and policy: but of thynges longyng to chyualry vnlyke of prouysion. For Metellus had strength of soudyours sufficyently: but the auantage of the countrey and place was moche cõtrary to hym. But Jugurth had euery thing necessary and expedyent saue company of men of armes which he wanted.

¶ At last the romayns whan they vnderstode that there was no sure place wherto they might fle: and also that they coude fynde no meanes to fyght with their ennemies indyfferently hand to hand. And that ꝑ nyght was come vpon them at last: they ascended vpon the toppe of an hyll which was ouer agaynst them lyke as Metellus their captayne cõmaunded them to do. For the Numidyans had lost that place and were fledde and spredde a brode dysperfed/ but fewe of them were slayne. For they were wyst: and the contrey was nat well knowen to the Romayns to purfue them: wherby many of the Numidyans were defended: and so by flyght escaped. But Jugurth

neque illis castra esse: neque munimentum vllum quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita.

Sed nec Iugurtha quidẽ interea quietus erat: ciẽ cũire/ hortari/ renouare/ prelium: et ipse cum delectis: ꝺoia subuenire suis hostibus instare dubijs: quos firmos cognouerat emin⁹ pugnãdo retinere

Eo modo inter se duo imperatores sũmi viri certabant: ipsi pares: cæterum opibus disparibus.

Nam Metello virtus militũ erat et locus aduersus. Iugurthæ alia oia ꝑter milites opportuna. Deinde romani vbi intelligunt neque sibi profugium esse: neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri: et iam diei vesper erat: aduerso colli sicuti præceptum fuerat euadunt.

Amisso loco Numidæ fusi fugatique pauci interiere. Plerosque veloci-

tas/et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt.

with his horsmen of garde for his body: fled also frō the batell whan he had long foughten & sawe non auayle nor auantage.

## Chow Bomylchar vndercaptayne of Jugurth and his company were dysconfited by Rutilyus vndercaptayne of Metellus. CThe.xxxii.chap.

Interea Bomilchar quē eliphantis et parti copiarum pedestrium prefectū a Iugurtha supra diximus: vbi cum Rutilius pretergressus est: paulatim suos in equum locū deducit: ac dum legatus ad flumen quo premissus erat: festinās pergit equitus vti res postulabat aciem instruxit: neque remittit explorare quid vbique hostis ageret.

IN the mean season Bomylchar/ whō Jugurth had made maister of his elyphātes/ and of a part of ꝑ fotemen (as I haue written before) allone as he sawe that Rutilyus (which Metellus had sent vnto the flodde of Muthull to prouyde a place for their tentes) was ouerpassed his compayny: by lytell and lytell he conuayed and ledde downe his company into a playne. And whyle this Rutilyus hasted hym towarde the fludde as he was cōmaunded of Metellus. Bomylchar set his cōpany in order and array styll and quietly as the mater and case requyred. And in meane tyme he forgat nat to serche by espyes what Metellus dyd/ and what way Rutilyus toke toward ꝑ sayd fludde: and in what maner he behaued himselfe and gyded his army. Wherfore aft he vnderstode by his espyes that Rutilyus with his cōpany had take their place by the sayd fludde wher he wolde abyde: and was voyde of besynes/ quiet/ and doutyng no paryll. And on the other syde whan he vnderstode ꝑ the cry of the batayle bytwen Jugurth and Metellus encreased: he fearedde lest Rutilyus (if he vnderstode therof) wold leue his place by the flud: and retourne to the batayle to socour his felowes which were in ieopardy. In this consyderation Bomylchar: wher as before he had ordered his army nere togyder by craft and that bycause he mystrusted the courage of his men: and in their boldnesse had no great confidence. Therfore nowe agayne he deuyded them a brode moche larger than they were before: and so proceded towarde the tentes of Rutilyus/ to thintent to lette hym and his company on euery syde/ if they prepared towarde rescous of Metellus. Rutilyus and his company suspectynge no paryll sodaynlie of vnware aduysedde/ and beheldе a great vyolence of smoke and dust styred vp and rayſed by mouyng of ꝑ grou de: but what it myght be they coude nat parceyue by any meane bycause of the thicknesse of the yonge trees that grewe on all the

Postquam Rutilium cōsedisse iam et aio vacuū esse accepit: simulque Iugurthæ ex prelio clamorem augeri: veritus ne legatus cognita re laborā tibus suis auxilio foret: aciem quam diffiens virtuti militum arcte statuerat quo hostium itinere officeret latius porrigit

Eoque modo ad Rutilij castra procedit. romani ex improuiso pulueris vim magnam aiaduertunt. Nam prospectū aget arbustis cōsitq; prohibebat.

an the grounde by wene them which letted their flyght. First of all they thought it had proceded of dulnes of the ground by rollynge of the wynde. But after warde whan they sawe the same smoke and dust contynue styll after one maner: and that the same approches alway nerer and nerer lyke wyse as the company of their ennemies moued and drewe toward them: Than they parreyued and sawe the mater as it was: and in all hast euery man toke to hym his harnelle: and stode redy before the defence of their tentes as their captayne Rutilyus had ordredde and comaunded them euery man redy to defende and mayntayne. After whan their ennemies approched nerer with an horrible noyse and cry/ they came togyder on bothe parties. The numydians dyd but onely contynue the skirmysshe abydynge and lokyng after elyphantes in helpe of whom was all their trust. But whan they sawe ỹ their elyphantes were stoppedde and lette with thicknelle of the bowes of the trees: and so tarryed and kept from their socours by the compasing of the romayns so ỹ in them was no trust of socours. Than all they toke them to flyght with all their power. But many of thē (leuyng their armour behynde them) escaped without woundes by helpe of the hylles which were about the place: which they coude better and quickelyer ascende than the romayns. And also by socour of the darknelle of the nyght (which than was at hande) many of them escaped hole and sounde and saued theselfe. Foure of the elyphantes were taken and all the remenāt (sauyng in nombre) were slayne. Whan this was done: the cōpany of Rutilyus/ nat withstandyng that they were satysgate and wery ed with great iourneis before/ and also with moche labour in ordryng of their tentes: & with the sayd batayle or skirmysshe. Neuertheselle whan they sawe ỹ Metellus their chefe captayne tarryed langer than they thought he wold haue done yf althyng had happened well with hym/ they ordredde themselfe redy and dyligētly went backward agayne to mete hym. For the fallhode and gyle of Jugurth and of the Numydyans tawht them to be ryght diligent and circūspect in euery thyng for sauegarde of their lyues: and suffred thē to do no thyng slouly nor with delayeng. But whan they were in their iourney in the darknelle of the nyght the companyes on bothe parties were nat farre in sonder ỹ one from the other: and bothe parties approched togyder nat knowyng eche other as if they had ben ennemies. The one agaynst the other making noyse and clamour eche one incressyng feare to other as war-



Et primo humū rati sunt āridam vento agitari. Post vbi æquabilem manere: sicuti acies mouebatur: magis magisque appropinquare videbāt cognita re properātes arma capiūt: ac pro castris sicuti impesatur consistunt.

Deinde vbi propius ventum est vtrimque magno clamore cōcurritur. Numidæ tantūmodo sūt remorati dum in elephantis auxilium putāt: postq̄ eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita dissectos circūueniri vident: fugam faciunt: ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut noctis quæ iam aderat auxilio itegri abeūt elephanti quatuor capti reliqui cōs numero quadraginta interfecti sūt.

At romani q̄ q̄ itinere atque opere castrorū & prælio fessi lassique erāt: cū q̄ Metellus amplius opinione morabatur instructi/ intentique obuiam procedunt.

Nam dolus Numidarū nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur.

Ac primo obscura nocte postq̄ haud procul inter se erāt strepitu velut hostes aduentare: alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere: et pene imprudentia

admissum facinus miserabile foret: nisi vtrimque præmissi equites rem exploraussent.

Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exhortum est.

Milites alius alium læti appellant: acta edocent: atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad celũ effert.

Quippe humane res ita se habent: in victoria etiam ignauis gloriari licet aduersæ res etiam de tractant bonos.

Metellus in ipsis castris quatriduo moratus: saucios cum cura reficit: meritos in prælijs more militiæ donat: vniuersos in contione laudat atque agit gratias:

hortatur ad cætera quæ leuia sunt parem animũ gerant:

Pro victoria satis iã pu-

rpours ar wont to do at begynnyng of a batayle. In so much that a mylerable dystruction & murdre had almost ben made betwene them by their impudent negligence / yf the espyes & horsmen which were sent betwene the on bothe sydes had not with more dylygence and wyselyer espyed ye treuth of the matter. But whan the yties knewe ech other / in stede of their fauntes and fear they were all sodenly fylled with great ioye and gladnesse. The soudyours ioyfully anone mette togyder one saluynge and welcomyng an other. One / he wedde to other their actes done on bothe yties: and to ous they were to here on bothe sydes euery man commendynge and exaltynge their owne dedes / and also the dedes of other bute heuen with myrthe and gladnesse. And that al well suche as were worthy men as vn worthy cowardesse ascryued to themselfe worthynesse: and certes in suche besynesse it often happeneth / that ouer that syde which hath the victorie: suche as be but cowardes / rude and vncrafty / exalteth them / enioyeth / and may boost themselfe on other mennes dedes and worthynesse. But in contrarye wyse on that partie which is ouercome though many be good warryours / noble and worthy men: yet ar they reputed for cowardes without policy / bycause of other mennes cowardyse and aduersyte of fortune. Thus fareth it in skirmyshes of batell. But whan Metellus and Rutilyus (as I haue sayed before) were mette togyder and rehersed their actes one to an other. Metellus hasted hym withall his army to the fludde of Muthull / and tarryed in the places and tentes which Rutilyus prepared and ordayned there the space of foure dayes. In this season he was besy in refreshyng and healyng his soudyours which were wounded / suche as manly had behaued themselfe in the batayle he worthely rewarded them / he called them togyder all into one cõpany and greatly lauded and cõmended them: thankyng and moche prayeng them for the great dylygence / payne / and labours: which they had taken in defence of the honour and dygnite of their empyre with suche wordes.

O worthy soudyours ye se now we that the hardest of our labour is ouerpassed by your boldnesse and manhode: wherfore I exhort you: be ye of lyke courage in the resydue of our besynesse / which shalbe but light and easy in comparyson of this which is ouerpassedde. The begynnyng and first brunt of euery besynesse is hardest. Which shall be but lyght vnto holde and circũspect begynners and constant felowes of their enterpryses. But this begynnyng ye haue manly ouercome by con-

stant la-

ſtant labour as thyng moost eaſy. ynough haue we foughten all redy for the glorie of victory: for that haue we optayned in this firſt cõflyct. If we labour or fight any more it ſhalbe but onely for prayes and robberies of our ennemies: wherby we ſhalbe enryched in ſubſtance: ryght as we nowe be inhaunced with glorie of victory. Wherfore my dere felowes & moſt conſtant frendes of the cõmen welth nowe I exhort you for cõplement of all your honorable fame: to remẽbre your olde and accuſtomed worthynelle. And ſuffre nat this excellent honoure & glorie which ye haue nowe obtayned by boldnes: to be quenched and decay agayne by ignompnious cowardyſe. ¶ With ſuche wordes and many other lyke Metellus reconforted his company: and marueylouſly kyndled their courages to ye deſyre of honour by valyant feates of armes. But in ye meanſeaſon the knowen gyls of Iugurth went nat from his mynde: & therfore to exclude all danger of treaſon he ſent forth certayne of the Numidyans/ which betraynge Iugurth had forſaken hym and fledde to the romayns: & alſo with them he ſent forth dyuerſe other of his owne company which were expert of the countrey/ and opportune to ſuch beſyneſſe to ſerche and eſpy amonge what people or in what place Iugurth helde hymſelfe: and wherin he was occupyed. Whyther he kept hym wt a ſmall company: or whyther he had an army reaſſembled for a newe batayle/ and how he behaued hymſelfe & where about he went ſyth he was ouercome. But Iugurth had conuayed hymſelfe into ſuche places as were full of dyſchelle/ valeis/ hylles/ trets/ buſſhes/ and dales defẽded of nature. And they had be aſſembled agayne a newe army of men/ mo in nõbre than he had before. But they were but vncraftie/ inexpert/ and dull to batell: and coude better tyll the grounde and kepe beeſtes/ than exercyſe the dedes of chiualry. For therto had they neuer ben vſed before: but in the other ſeruyle ocupatyõs & beſyneſſe had they ben ocupyed all their lyfetyme wout itermyſſion of other ocupatyon. It fortuned that Iugurth had none other ſoudiours but ſuch rurall people about hym at this tyme namely for this cauſe. For whan he fledde from the batayle foughten before wt Metellus/ none of all his ſoudyours folowed hym except the horſemen of his garde. For all the other ſowdyours departed where it lyked them beſt. Nor this is nat counted nor reputed for any faute or rebuke amonge the Numidyan ſoudyours. For ſuche is the cuſtome of the countrey: whan the cappitayne fleeth the hooſt forſaketh hym.

gnatum: reliquos laborare prædæ fore.

Tum interim trãſfugas: et alios opportunos vbi Iugurtha gentium: aut quid ageret: cum paucis ne eſſet: an exercitum haberet: vt ſeſe victus geeret: exploratum miſit.

At ille ſeſe in loca ſaltuoſa et munita natura receperat: ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem: ſed hebetem ifirmumque: agri ac pecoris magis q̃ belli cultorem.

Idea gratia eueniebat: q̃ præter regios equites nemo omniũ Numidarũ ex fuga regem ſequebat. Quo cuiuſq; animo ſtet eo diſcedent: neque id flagitium militiæ ducit: ita ſe mores habent.

¶ What waſt & deſtruction Metellus made in the
londe of Numidy after this firſt batell & flight of Jugurth: &
of the gyle of Jugurth againſt Metellus. The .xxviii. cha.

¶ Igit Metellus vbi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocē eſſe bellū renouari: quod niſi ex illi⁹ libidine geri non poſſet,

Præterea iniquum certamen ſibi cū hoſtibus: minore detrimento illos vinci q̄ vincere: ſtatuit non prælijs neque in acie ſed alio modo bellum eſſe gerendum.

Itaque ī loca Numidiæ opulentiſſima pergit: agros vaſtat: caſtella multa et oppida temere munita aut ſine preſidio capit: incenditque. Puberes interficit: iubet cetera alia militū p̄dæ eſſe.

Ea formidine multi mortales romanis dediti: obſides frumentū⁹ et alia q̄ vſui forēt: affatim prebita ſunt: ybicū⁹ res poſtulabat preſidiū impoſitū. Quæ negotia multo magis q̄ prælij male pugnatum ab ſuis regem terrebant.

When Metellus vnderſtode by his eſpyes that the mynde of Jugurth cōtynued yet ſtyll in his olde fyerſnelle and cruelte thoughe he was lately ouercome in batayle. And whanne Metellus ſawe that Jugurth renewed the warre agayne and prepared a newe batayle which coude nat be done but at pleaſure of Jugurth/ wherfore he had taken ſuche a place to abyde in that no man coude conueyently contende with hym/ nor dyſcomfyte therof. Metellus thus lyenge aduyſed hymſelfe of many thynges. Namely he conſyderede that they were nat indyfferent and egall on bothe partyes in executyng therof. For all yf that he had the vpper hande ouer Jugurth & had put hym to flyght: yet loſt he mo men and had more damage in ouercomyng hym/ than Jugurth had which was ouercome. For this conſyderation Metellus purpoſed no more to contende with Jugurth in playne feldes nor in ordered batayle/ but by an other maner to execute the warre with hym from thenſforthe. This determyned Metellus with his hoſt hooſt and ordynaunce went forth into the moſt riche and plentyfull places of all Numidy/ and there waſted and deſtroyed the feldes and contrey on euery ſyde. He toke without any reſiſtence caſtels and townes/ nat ſtrongly defended with walles/ dyches/ nor garnyſon. And ſlewe and bete them downe to the grounde. All ſuche as came in his way and were able to bere harneſſe: full growen of age or apt to batayle: he ſlewe & cauſed out of hande. Thinkyng that the mo he ſlewe the fewer aduerſaries and ennemies ſhulde he haue to cōtende agaynſt hym. He cōmaunded his ſowdyours to ſpare no robbery nor prayes: but put all thyng to hauocke among his ſowdyours.

¶ For feare of this cruelte many of the Numidyans yelded themſelfe to the romayns: and gaue vnto them hoſtages/ bytayls/ ſoudyours/ and all other thynges neceſſary abundantly. In ſome townes which were taken: Metellus ſette defence and garnyſon where nede required and fortyfied them ſufficiently. This buſynes troubled the mynde of Jugurth moche more than the batayle that was foughten before to his great dammage and diſconfort of his menne. For he loſt more people by this way thanne by any other meanelle before.

Thus Ju-

Thus Jugurth which before put all his hope and truſt in his flight: was now of neceſſite cõpelled to folowe and purſue his ennemies: & he which coude nat defende his owne places wh che ſtyll remayned in his poſſeſſion: was conſtrayned nowe to warre in thoſe cooſtes/ which Metellus had wonne of hym to recouer them yf fortune wolde ſuffre hym. Neuertheles of ſuche poore ſhyft and counſell as he had he toke the beſt which coude be taken by his aduyſe in ſuche extreme neceſſite. He cõmaunded his army for the mooſt part to remayne ſtyll in the ſame place whey they were. And he hymſelfe with a company of horſmen which were bolde and choſen men enſued Metellus priuely makyng his iourneis by night tyme by by wayes and ſecrete baleis. And at laſt ſodenly of vnwars he fell vpon a part of the romayns which were dyſperſed a brode from the hooſt in foragyng and ſpoylinge. Many of them without armour were ſlayne: and many taken. Non of them all eſcaped clene nor fre without dãmage/ but outher were ſlayne or els ſore wounded. Whan Jugurth had done this ſkyrmiſſhe anone he withdrue hymſelfe & his company into the hylles and moũtayns next to them: before any ſocours or reſcous ſhulde come from Metellus to reueng their treaſon & deth of ꝑ romayns.

Quippe cui ſpes oĩs i fuga ſita erat: ſequi cogebatur: et qui ſua loca defendere nequiuerat; in alienis bellum gerere: tamen ex inopia quod optimum videbatur conſiliũ capit:
exercitum plerumque in iiſdem locis opiri iubet.

Ipſe cum delectis equitibus Metellum ſequitur nocturnis auiiſque itinetibus ignoratus romanos palantes repente aggreditur. Plerique in armes cadunt: multi capiũtur. Nemo oim intactus profugit. Numidæ priusq̃ ſubueniretur; ſicuti iuſſi erant: in proximos colles diſcendunt.

## Of the great ioy which was demeaned at Rome for this worthy behauour of Metellus: and how he gyded hymſelf and his army to contynue & augmẽt this honour which he had gotten. The.xxxiiii.chap.

While Metellus and Jugurth ſtryued thus togyder: the one with manhode/ wyſdome/ and ſtrength: the other with treaſon/ craft/ and gyle: Tidynges were brought to Rome of this noble behauour of Metellus. Quer all the cite was demeaned great ioye and gladneſſe for that Metellus behaued hymſelfe and gyded his army acordyng to the maner and ordynaunce of olde noble cappytayns of the romayns before his days. And howbeit he was in place aduers & contrary to hym yet had he the vpper hande of his ennemies as victoure ouer them. And by his ſtrength and mãhode he had in poſſeſſion ꝑ contrey of his ennemies: & had driuen them frõ place to place.

Interim Rome gaudium ingẽs ortum eſt cognitis Metelli rebus vt ſe/exercitũque more maiorũ gereret.

q̃q̃ inaduerſo loco tñ victor fuiſſe virtute hoſtiũ agro potiretur.

Iugurtham magnificum ex Aulī ſecordia q̄ ſpem ſalutis inſolitudine aut fuga coegeſſit habere.

Itaque ſenatus ob ea feliciter acta dijs immortalibus ſupplicia decernere. Ciuitas ātea trepida et ſolicita de belli euentu lęta agere.

Fama de Metello precla ra eſſe. Igitur eo intenti or Metellus ad victoriā niti omnibus modis: feſtinare: cauere: tñ necubi hoſti oportunus fieret.

Meminiſſe poſt gloriam inuidiam ſequi: ita quo clarior eo magis anxius erat: neque poſt inſidias Iugurthæ effuſo exercitu prædari.

Sed vbi frumento aut pabulo opus erat: cohortes cum omni equitatu præſidium agebant. Exercitus partē ipſe: reliquos Marius ducebat: ſed igne magiſq̄ pręda ager vaſtabatur.

Duobus locis haud longe iter ſe caſtra faciebāt Vbi vi opus erat: cuncti aderāt: cæterū quo fuga atque formido latius creſceret: diuiſi agebāt.

All theſe thinges conſydred: they moche reioyced and greatly cōmended Metellus: namely for that he had cauſed Jugurth to put his truſt of helth onely in fleyng into the mountayns and wyldernelles/ which before was magnificent and proude by the feat & cowardyſe of Julus precellour of Metellus. Wherfore for theſe fortunat and glorious dedes of Metellus/ the ſenatours decreed and cōmaūded ouer all ꝑ cyte ſacrifyces and ſuffrages to be done to their ydolles. The citezyns which before were ferefull and ſore troubled doutyng ꝑ vnſure chaūce and incertayne fortūe of the ende of ꝑ batayle: demened now among them myrth and gladneſſe ouerall. The hououre and fame of Metellus was recoūted very noble/ excellent/ and glorious in euery mannes mouth. Wherfore he ſomoch was the more dyligent and laboured more beſely towarde the byctore laboring and haſtyng to finyſſhe the warr by all meanes and wayes ſo it might be to his honour and cōfuſion of Jugurth. But neuertheles he was well ware from puttyng hymſelfe in danger of his ennemies: and was ware erchuyng oportunyte of their gyle in euery place where he went. He remēbred well and conſidred that often after laude and glorie foloweth enuy and euyl wyll. And therfore howe moche more noble that he was reputed: the more beſy and dyligent he was to mentayne his fame & honour/ and in dzede to loſe this worthy fame whi che he had obtayned. For after the forſayd gyle of Jugurth he ſuffred nat his hooſt to deuyde nor to depart themſelfe dyſparſed one from an other: nor to make excourſes to forage or ſpoyle in dyuers places farre dyſtāt in ſondre. But whan thei had nede outher of mannes meate or horſemeat: all the horſemen with great companyes of the fotemen/ went forthe and kept them nere about ſuche as were ſende forthe to make prouyſion to defend and ſocour them: if nede ſhuld require. Metellus hymſelfe deuyded his hooſt in two partes: the one part he kept with hymſelfe: & the other he cōmytted to a noble warriour of his hooſt named Marius/ bytwene thē both they dyſtroyd & waſted the contrey on euery ſyde/ but rather with fire than with robbry or prayes. Metellus and Marius ſet their tentes in two places nat farr dyſtāt in ſondre. But whan any perylous or nedy beſyneſſe was to be done with Jugurth or his company which requyred great myght: than anone Metellus and Marius were redy togyder: but they kept themſelfe thus in ſondet in dyuerſe places to trouble the Numidyans/ and increaſe their feare more largly in euery coaſt: & to make them fle

them fle and auoyde more ferre abrode in compaſſe for feat.

¶ At this ſeaſon Jugurth enſued by the hylles and deſert places ſekyng and eſpyeng a conuenyent ſeaſon or place to make ſome ſkyrmyſſhe with the Romayns (that is to ſay) if he coude eſpy any parcell of them ſekynge forth fountayns of water for ꝑ armye of ꝑ which was moch penury in thoſe coſtes. If he myght any ſuch eſpy than anone wolde breke downe from the hylles vpon them. Somtyme he ſhewed hymſelfe to Metellus/ somtyme to Marius/ somtyme he wolde aſſemble his cõpany togyder in a bend as if he wold fyght with the romayns to attẽpt them/ & anone aſt wold he retourne agayne vnto the mountaynes. And afterwarde ſodenly appere agayne threatnyng nowe the one cõpany of the romayns/ & nowe the other. yet wold he neyther auẽture batayle nor ſuffre neyther the romayns to be ydle or in reſt/ nor yet hymſelfe. His mynde was onely ſette to kepe his ennemies from their begynnyng & purpoſe of diſtroyeng of the countrey whiche they intended.

Eo tẽpore Iugurtha per colles ſequi: tps aut locum pugnæ quærere: qua venturum hoſtem audierat. pabulum aut aquarũ fontes quorum penuria erat corrumpere. modo ſe Metello: iterdũ Mario oſtendere: poſtremo in agmine tẽtare: ac ſtatim in colles regredi.

Rurſus alijs poſt alijs minitari: neque prelium facere: neque ocium pati. tantummodo hoſtem ab incepto retinere.

## ¶ Howe Metellus beſyeged Saman one of the ſtrongeſt townes of Numidy: and howe Marius vndercaptayne of Metellus eſcaped the danger of Jugurth. ¶ The.xxxv.chap.

WHan Metellus the romayne captayn ſawe hym ſelfe ſo fatygate and werped with the gyles and craftes of Jugurth/ and that by no policy he coude haue faculty or tyme to fighe with hym in playne batayle: at laſt he cõcluded to beſyge and aſſayle a great towne named Zamã/ which was ꝑ moſt chefe & ſtrongeſt holde of all the realme of Numidy in that part of ꝑ lande where it was buylded. And ſo ſpedde hym thyder with all his army and ordynance where the ſayd holde was (thynkyng as ꝑ mater requyred) that Jugurth wold drawe thyder for defẽce of his chiefe towne and for ſocour & releſe of his peple and ſo ſhulde ꝑ batayle be there foughten betwene them. But whan Metellus was in his iourney thyderward/ anon were certayn of his army which fled to Jugurth & certified hym of this puyſion & interpryſe of Metellus. Whan Jugurth herof was certified he haſted hi by gret iourneis ſo ꝑ he ouerpaſſed the cõpany of Metellus & cam to ꝑ towne of Zamã before hym:

¶ Romanꝰ ſperator vbi dolis fatigari videt: neque ab hoſte copiam pugnandi fieri: vrbem magnam et in ea parte qua ſita erat arcem regni nomine Zãmam ſtatuit oppugnare: ratus (id quod negotium poſtulabat) Iugurtham laborantibꝰ ſuis auxilio venturum: ibique prelium fore. At ille quo parabantur edoctus a perfugis magnis ſteneribus Metellũ anteuenit.

oppidanos hortatq; mœnia defendãt addidis auxilio perfugis quod genus ex copijs regis: quia fallere nequibat fortissimum erat.
Præterea pollicetur in tẽpore semet cum exercitu affore.

Ita cõpositis rebus in loca q̃ maxima occulta descendit: ac post paulo cognoscit ex itinere Mariũ frumẽtatum cũ paucis cohortibus Siccã missum quod opidum primũ omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitib⁹ pergit noctu: et egredientibus Romanis inportã pugnã facit. Simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur vbi cohortes a tergo circũueniant: fortunam illis præclari facinoris casũ dare: si id fecerint: postea sese in regno: illos in libertate sine metu ætatẽ acturos. At ni Marius signa inferre atque euadere oppido properauisset: protecto cuncti (aut magna pars) Siccensium fidem mutauissent. Tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ gerunt. Sed milites Iugurthini paulisper a rege sustentati postq̃ maiore vi hostes vrgẽt paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

Marius ad Zammam pauenit.

and there exhorted the inhabytantes boldely to defende ẏ walles. And farthermore assigned to socour and helpe them all suche as had fledde fro ẏ romayns/ and had brought hym those tidynges. These treatours were ẏ surest men which Jugurth had. For they coude nat dyscepue hym/ but yf they wolde yeld them agayne to the romayns whom they had forsaken and betrayed which thing was nat sure to thẽ to do. Whan Jugurth had ioyned these soudyours to the garnyson and socours of ẏ towne and castell/ and had ordred and apoynted all other thinges acordyng to his mynde: than he promysed to be they agayne with them wall his hole army in tyme of nede. This done he departed from the towne into ẏ mooste preuy and secret places which he knewe in his countrey therby. But whan Metellus was in his iourney towarde Zaman/ he sende Marius for prouysion of whete and other corne and bytayle for the army vnto a towne named Sicca/ which was the first towne ẏ forsoke Jugurth and was yelded to Marius after the batayl late foughten with Jugurth to his great damage. Whan Jugurth had knowledge herof he went thyder by night priuely with his elect soudyours/ so that whan Marius had spedde his matters and was redy to depart forthe of the towne: Jugurth was redy at ẏ gates to assayle the romayns cruelly cryeng with a hyẽ voyce to them of the towne and exhortynge thẽ to assayle the romayns also on the backe halfe: sayng that fortune had offred to them the chaunce of a noble act/ of an excellent and glorious dede: so that (yf they wolde folowe his desyre) they shulde restore hym agayne into his kyngdome and them selfe into their lyberte and from thensforth to passe their tyme without paryll/ without daunger: or drede. And certaynely if Marius had nat boldely and strongly broken out of the towne with his standerdes and men of armes through the thickest of his ennemies which were in the gates. All they of the towne for the mooste part wolde haue broken their oth and promesse/ which they had made before to Metellus whã they first yelded theselfe the cyte to hym. The myndes of the Numidyans be so vnstedfast and mouable. But Jugurth so conforted his soudyours that they resysted the Romayns a lytell season. But whan Marius and his company began to encrease their vyolence agaynst the Jugurthyns and more fiersely to preasse vpon them. Anone some were slayne and the residue fledde with their maister Jugurth. This daunger ouerpassed: Marius departed thens towarde the towne of Zaman/ and at the

and at the last came thyder saue with all his company and be-
synesse spedde wherfore he was sent.

¶ This Samam was a towne bylded in the playne ground
without hylles or waters nere it so that it was rather defeded
by the werke of mannes handes than by nature of ỹ place. In
it fayled nothyng necessary to batayle. For it was well garnis
shedde bothe with men/ ordynaunce/ bytayls/ and armour.
Anone whan Marius was come: Metellus accordyng to the
tyme and place made redy all thynges necessary and compas-
sed the walles on euery syde with his armye: assignyng to eue
ry one of his vndercapytayns a seperate place of the towne to
assayle and there to do his deuoyre and shewe his manhode.
Whan euery thyng was thus ordredde Metellus cõmaunded
to sound to the assaut with trumpettes and clarions. The to
mayns imedyatlie assayled the towne on euery syde wt horry-
ble noyse and clamoure. The Numidyans therof were nat a
dradde at all: but abode styll and kept themselfe insylence as
if they had nat ben dyspleasedde nor prouoked to batell: how-
beit they kept the walles euery man on ỹ part to him assigned
and all were redy to resyst and to assayle the romayns. Anone
the batayle was begone. The romayns exercysed and ocupy-
ed themself euery man with such weppn as he coude best han-
dell and was moost expert in: some with slynges throwe plum-
mettes of leed/ and some stones from a farre into the eyte/ and
at them which defended the walles/ some assayled the towne
nerer inuadyng the same/ and couetyng to haue entre and vn-
dermynyng the walles/ some boldly escaped walles desyring
to come so nere that they might fyght hande to hande. On the
otherside thinhabytauntes of the towne and garnyson resy-
sted manly. Some rowled downe and ouerturned gret and
weyghty stones on suche as were nerest to them/ and that vn-
dermyned the walles. Some pytched downe vpon them dar
tes/ tauelyns/ pykes/ firebrandes: and also great bremynge
polles/ faggottes/ and blockys ouercouered with pytche and
brestone ardenly flamyng. Some boldly ouerturned the sca
lyng ladders and slewe & ouerthrue such as scaled the walles.
But some other which were farther frõ the towne & for preasse
coude nat approche nere to ỹ walles in the meane season were
nother fearfull nor ydell. For there was no maner instrument
of batayle which coude be throwen with hande or with any o-
ther ingynne of batayle: but that they thrue it into the towne/
wherwith they wounded and slewe many of the inhabytantes

Id oppidum in campo si-
tum magis opere q̃ natu
ra munitum erat: nulli-
rei idoneæ egens: armis
virisque opulentum.

Igitur Metellus pro tẽ-
pore atque loco paratis
rebus cuncta menia exer
citu circũuenit. Legatis
imperat vbi quisque cu-
raret.

Denique signo dato vn-
diq; simul clamor ingẽs
oritur: neque ea res Nu-
midas terret: infensi/ in-
tentiq; sine tumultu ma-
nent: prælium incipitur.

Romani pro ingenio quis
que: pars eminus glande
aut lapidibus pugnare:
alij inuadere: ac murum
suffodere modo scalis ag
redi: cupere præliũ ma-
nibus facere.

Cõtra ea opidani in pro-
ximos saxa voluere: fu-
des/ pila/ præterea pice &
fulphure tedam mixtam
ardenti mittere.

and of the defeders of the walles. The dartes and crosbowes on bothe parties were nat vnoccupyed. Artellery nor gonnes had they none. For at that tyme was no mencyon of them nor they were nat yet inuent. The romayns which were farthest of all from the walles escaped nat fre: but with dartes were ouerthrowen in great nombre. How beit their cowardous and fearfull myndes caused them to drawe theselfe a louke behynd all other for to saue themselfe/ yet coude they nat auoyd the pyll. Thus were the worthy & vnworthy of ꝑ romayns in lyke ieopdy and pyll: but their glory and fame was moch vnlyke.

Sed nec illos qui procul manserant timor animi satis munierat. Nã plerosque iacula tormentis aut manibus emissa vulnerabant. Parique periculo: sed fama impari: boni atque ignaui erãt.

## How Jugurth assayled and inuaded the tentes of the romayns in the mean tyme whyle Metellus gaue assaut to the towne of zãmam. The.xxxvi.chapyter.

Whyle the assaut endured and cõtynued thus at zãmam/ with great murdre and dystructyon on bothe ꝑties: Jugurth sodenly and of vnware stale downe from the mountayns where he was hydde/ and with a great power of men assayled and inuaded the romayns tentes whyle the soudyours whom Metellus had assygnedde to the warde and defence of them were within ꝑ same at their rest: and suspecting nothing lesse than any such assaut. Wherfore Jugurth brake in vpon them vnpruyded. The romayns were sore abasshed of that sodeyn feare. And euery man prouyded for hymselfe accordyng to his maners and dyspolycyon. Some whych were cowardes fled away withall their myght/ some other valyant and bolde hertid men drewe to their harnes and manly withstode their enemys. Neuertheless the moost part of them all were outher wounded or slayne. But among all the company and of all ꝑ multytude of the were no mo but .cl. men which abode. These .cl. a copanyed theselfe togyder remedrying the worshyp of the empyre of Rome/ and toke a place a lytell aboue their enemyes: which place they defended so manly that they coude nat be drriuen from it by moche violence of their enemyes/ agaynst whom they thrue dartes frõ a farre. And suche dartes as their enemyes thrue at them: they thrue the same agayne. So they beyng but a fewe agaynst so many dyd nothing in vayne. For they coude throwe no dart/ but that it lyghted amõg the thyckest of

Dum apud zãmam sic certatur: Iugurtha ex improuiso castra hostiũ cũ magna manu inuadit: remissis qui in præsidio erant: et omnia magisq̃ ꝑ lium expectantibus portam irrumpit.

At nostri repentino motu perculsi: sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alij fugere: alij arma capere: magna pars vulnerati aut occisi sunt.

Cæterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis romani: grege facto locum cœpere paulo q̃ alij editiorem neque inde maxima vi depelli quiuerunt. Sed tela eminus missa remittere: pauci in pluribus frustrari.

Sin Numidæ propius accediſſent: ibi vero virtutem oſtendere: et eos maxima vi cedere: fundere atque fugare.

Interim Metellus cum acerrime rem gereret clamorem a tergo recepit.

Deinde conuerſo equo animaduertit fugã ad ſe verſum fieri: quæ res indicabat populares eſſe.

Igitur equitatum omnẽ ad caſtra propere miſit: ac ſtatim Caium Mariũ cum cohortibus ſociorũ eumque lachrimans per amicitiã/ perque rem publicam obſecrat: ne quã contumeliã remanere in exercitu victore: neue hoſtes inultos abire ſinat.

Ille breui mãdata efficit At Jugurtha munimento caſtrorum impeditus cum alij ſuper vallũ præcipitarentur: alij in anguſtijs ipſi ſibi properãtes officerent: multis amiſſis in loca munita ſeſe recipit.

Metellus incepto negocio poſtq̃ nox aderat i caſtra cum exercitu reuertitur. Igitur poſtero die priuſq̃ ad oppugnãdum egrediretur: equitatum omnẽ in ea parte qua regis aduẽtus erat: pro caſtris agitare iubet: pos

reſt of them. But ſo coude nat their ennemies do agaynſt thẽ. For they were ſo fewe: ſo nere togyder: and on ſo ſure a place that their ennemies myght lytell thyng preuayle agaynſt thẽ. But whan the Numidyans approched neret to thẽ: than ſpecially theſe .xl. valyant romayns ſhewed and beſtowed their manhode and ſtrẽgth with mooſt excellent courage aſſaylyng their ennemies: ouerthrowyng and chaſing them back warde by very force & ſtrength. ¶ In the meane tyme whyle Metellus was mooſt of all occupyed and beſyed in the forſayd aſſaut of zamam: ſodenly he herde behynde hym a great clamour & noyſe of people. Anone he refrayned his horſe: and in tournyng backe he parceyued great companyes of men tẽdyng toward hym: whereby he well knewe that they were of his owne peple and company. But whan he vnderſtode all the chaũce which was befallen. Anone in all haſt he ſent all the hole company of his horſmen vnto his tentes: and ſoone after he ſent thyder alſo his chiefe vndercaptayne Caius Marius with his retynue and company to hym aſſigned. And ſore weppyng he obteſted exhorted/ and beſought hym for all loue and frendſhyppe: and for honour of the cõmen wayle/ that he wold nat ſuffre any diſworſhyp or contumely remayne in the romayns that day whi che euer thytherto had ben victorious and ouercomars with great laude and honour: and that he wolde nat ſuffre their enemy Jugurth and his cõpany to depart away vnreuenged. Marius dyd the cõmaundement of Metellus and that ſhortly. But in the mane ſeaſon Jugurth parceyued many of ỹ kepars of the tentes fallen into the dyches that were made about the ſame for defence: ſo that for haſt to ronne away they hurt themſelfe more/ than he dyde. Jugurth aduyſyng their daunger conſydred that hymſelfe was lyckely to be let vnder the ſame maner yf he aũentured ouer farre. And therfore he departed betyme into the ſureſt places that he coude deuyſe nere by/ leauynge many of his men behynde: outher deed or mortally wounded. This was Marius fruſtrat of his labour: for Jugurth was fledde before he came to the tentes. But Metellus (without any thyng brought to ende at zamã) whan the night drewe nere: retourned with his hooſt into his tentes. On the next morne after/ before he retourned agayne to the aſſaut of zaman: he cõmaunded all the cõpany of his horſmen to courſe by and downe before their tentes on that ſyde where they ſuppoſed Jugurth wolde come to ſocour his people. The entres into the tentes and places nere to them he cõmytted and deuy

tas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidū atque vti superiore die murū aggreditur. Interim Iugurtha ex occulto repente nostros inuadit: et qui in proximo locati erant paulisp territi prturbantur tamen reliqui cito subueniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quiuissent: in pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent: quibꝰ illi freti non (vti inequestri fieri prælio solet) sequi: deinde vero cedere: sed aduersis equis cōcurrere: implicare: ac prturbare aciem.

Ita cum expeditis peditibus suis hostes pene victos dare.

ded to warde of his vndercapptayns. After that he retourned agayne to the towne and fiersly assaylinge the walles in lyke maner as he had done the day before.

¶ In the mean season Iugurth agayne sodenly stalebpon ꝑ romayns: & specially on them which rouzed before the cenes. they which were nert hym & who he encountred first of all were a lytell tyme sore troubled and abasshed: but the remanent of the romayns lightly assembled their ensignes. And so valyantly behaued themselfe that the Numidyans shold nat long haue contynued the skirmysshe: if their fotemen myngled with the romayns horsemen had nat in the myddell cōmytted great myschefe and dystruction. For the horsemen of Iugurth trusting to the helpe of these fotemen which they myngled amōg them: dyd nat first prozede forwarde auaūcyng themselfe and than retourne backe agayne as the vse is in a batayle of speremen. But they ran in maynge incourses among the thyckest of the romayns ouerthwart and sydelinges: infolding & dowbling the courses: and contendyng to trouble and dysorder ꝑ aray and ozder of the forwarde and wynges of the romayne hoost. In somoche that what with the Numidyans on horsebacke and with them on fote it lacked but lytell: but the romayns were confoūded and ouercome in that greuous conflict.

¶ But here wyll I leue the horsmen of the romayns fightyng for their lyues and honour agaynst Iugurth & his speremen. And nowe shall I declare how Metellus the chefe captayn of the romayns behaued hiself with his host in ꝑ assaut of zāmā.

## ¶ How Metellus behaued himself for his part & of the great cōflyct which the romayns had agaynst the Numidyans: Metellus with his fotmē assaylinge the towne of zāmam for the one part: and Iugurth fiersly fighting with the romayns speremen for the other part. The.xxxvii.chap.

¶ Eodem tempore apud Zammam magna vi certabatur. Vbi quisque legatus aut tribunꝰ curabat: ibi acerrime niti: neque alius spē in alio magisq̄ in se habere.

IN the same tyme whyle this skirmysshe contynued bytwene the romayns horsmen and the Numidyans/ which were with Iugurth: the assaut also agaynst the towne of zammam indurede with moche strength/ dyolence/ and murder. And specially wher as Metellus had assigned his vnder captaynes

captayns on euery ſyde of the towne (as I haue ſayed before) there cōtynued the aſſaut mooſt ſharply. One of them put nat his truſt nor hope in an other: but euery man in his owne dedes and in hymſelfe. Under the ſame maner dyde the garnyſon and inhabytantes of the towne behaue themſelfe: they fought manly agayne and alſo ordayned all thinges conuenyent for their defence in euery place of the towne. Both the parties were redyer and more beſye one to ſtryke and wounde an other than to defende themſelfe. The clamoure and noyſe was myxt with erhortacion and confort of ſome/ and ꝑ ioye of the quellars and murderers was myngled with the waylinge of them which were quelled and murdredde. The ſounde of the armour/horrious/ and ſtrokes mounted to the ayre. The ſky was darkedde with dartes fleyng on eyther ſyde. And ꝑ walles and dychelle were dyed with blode: & fylled with deed corſes pytefull to ſe. But whan the Numidyans were ſomwhat at layſer and whan the romayns a lytell abated and remytted the aſſaut: than they which defended the walles of the towne loked out a farre and intentifely behelde the batayle of ꝑ horſmen which ſtyll contynued. They might one haue ſene them ſomtyme mery and ioyous/ ſomtyme full of dolour and heuyneſſe after as they ſawe the caſe of the part of Jugurth wente forwarde or backward. And alſwell as they coude be ſene and harde of their felowes which were with their kyng Jugurth: ſome warned thē to audacite/ſome erhorted them to courage/ outher they gaue thē ſignes with their handes or with the reſt of their bodyes and countenances mouynge and excityng thē to boldneſſe. If they ſawe a romayne ſtryke a numidyan: thei moued and withdrue their bodyes auoyding the ſtroke as yf it had ben themſelf which had ben ſtricked. And if they ſawe a numidyan caſt a dart agaynſt a romayn: they moued their bodes alſo as if they had caſt it thēſelf. Thus toke they ſo intētife hede to the batell that they forgate themſelfe where they were/ and it ſemed them that they had ben with their felowes in batayle. Whā Marius which beſyged ꝑ towne on that ſyde: vnderſtode this maner and behauour of the inhabytauntes and garnyſon: he abated his fierſnes for policy & was more ſlowe in beſyeging of the towne than before fayning that he had no truſt nor confidence to wynne it and ſuffred the Numidyans within the towne to beholde ꝑ batell of their kyng: for a whyle without any reſyſtence or beſyneſſe. But whan he ſawe them mooſt intentyfely beholdyng the batayle/ and mooſt a maſed

Pariter oppidiani agere oppugnare: aut parare omnibus locis: auidus alteri alteros ſauciare quā ſemet tegere.

Clamor pmixtus hortatione: letitia gemitu: itē ſtrepitus armorū ad cælum terri: tela vtrinque volare.

Sed illi qui menia defenſabāt: vbi hoſtes paululum modo pugnam remiſerant: intenti prælium equeſtre proſpectabant. Eos (vt quæq; res Iugurthæ erant) letos modo: pauidos modo aladuerteres: ac ſicuti audiri a ſuis aut cerni poſſent: admonere alios: hortari alios aut manu ſignificare: aut niti corporib⁹: & huc et illuc quaſi vitabundi: aut iaciētes tela agitare

Quod vbi Mario cognitum erat (nā is in ea parte curabat) cōſulto leuius agere: ac diffidētiam rei ſimulare: patri numidas ſine tumultu prælii regis viſere.

Ita illis studio suorũ astrictis repente magna vi murum aggreditur: et iã scalis aggressi milites prope summe ceperant: cum oppidani cõcurrũt: lapides/ignem/alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere de inde vbi vne ac altere scalæ iminutæ sũt: qui supstiterant afflicti sunt. Cæteri quoquo modo potuere: pauci integri: magna pars confecti vulneribus abeũt Deide vtrinque plium nox diremit.

for the besynes of their felawes and contrey men: than sodenly withall his power he gaue assaut to the walles so that many of the romayns with ladders and other ingens/ had almoost mounted vnto the highest part of them. Thynhabytantes seing this expelled their a masednes remẽbryng themself: & ran manly agaynst them with resystence throwyng vpon thẽ stones/fyre/and all maner dartes of batayle. The romayns at begynnyng resysted valyantly defendyng thẽself and auancyng them to the walles. But whan thinhabytantes had first ouerthrowen and broken one ladder/ and than ouertourned an other. They which abode last were maymed or slayne. Anone the remenãt departed & gaue ouer the walles vnder ỹ best maner ỹ they coude a fewe or non hole. For a great part of thẽ wdrewe thẽself trãsfired w̃ mortall wondes. Anon aft the night fell vpõ thẽ which caused both ỹ ptes to desist & leue of ỹ batel.

## Chow Metellus remoued the siege from zammam: & how Bomylchar so pswaded Jugurth that he yelded hymselfe/ his kyngdome/ and all other thynges/ to mercy & grace of the romayns. And howe Jugurth after losse of his men/ treasour/elephantes/armour/and horse: changed his mynde agayne. ¶The.xxxviii.chapyter.

Metellus vbi videt frustra inceptum: neque oppidum capi: neque Iugurtham niti: nisi ex insidijs aut suo loco pugnã facere: etiam estatem exactã esse ab Zãma discessit: et in his vrbibus quæ ad se defecerant satisq; munite loco aut menib⁹ erant: præsidia imponit.

Cæterum exercitũ in prouicia que proxia est Numidæ hyemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxurie concedit.

But whan Metellus sawe his purpose and labour all in vayne: and that he coude nat wynne the towne. and also ỹ Jugurth dyde nought but begyle and falshode/ nor wolde nat fight but yf it were in places for his profet & great auantage. And also whã he ꝑceyued ỹ the somer was passed: he departed from the siege of zãmam: & in such townes as he had won of Jugurth which were strongly defended with walles & water: he set garnyson and soudyours of his company to defend them. But the remenant of his army he conuayed and ordred in the next prouynce vnto Numidy/ which was subget to the romayns: to remayne there tyll the sharpnesse of the wynter were passed. Nor in the meane tyme he suffred nat them/ nor hymselfe to be corrupted with superfluous welth/ rest/ nor lechery: after the maner of other before hym. But bycause the warre

warre proceded forwarde but lytell with armour or strength: he began to proue and prepare treason agaynst a treatour/ dysceyt agaynst dysceyt: and gyle agaynst gyle of Jugurth. and this thought he to proue by such as were moost chefe frēdes of Jugurth/ & moost familyar about hym. So þ he purposed to vse the falshode & treason of thē agaynst their mayster: i stede of armour and batayle. Wherfore first of all he began to pue the mynde of Bomylchar which had ben before at Rome with Jugurth: & (as I haue sayd before) fledde priuely from thens for the deth of Massiua/ leuyng his suretes behynde in danger for his cause. Metellus cōsidred that this Bomylchar (by cause of the great frendshyppe and familyarite which he had with Jugurth) sonest might dysceyue and betray hym. Wher fore (as I haue sayd before) he began and went in hande with hym first of all by prompting of great rewardes. And first of all he dyde somoch: that this Bomylchar came priuely to Metellus and spake with hym. Metellus anon promysed hym on fayth and treuth to do so for hym: that the senatours shulde pdon hym of all thynges past/ and of his lyfe and goodes. So þ he wold betray or delyuer vnto hym Jugurth other quycke or deed: lightly he pswaded the numydan. For anon Bomylchar agreed therto: what for his treaterous and false mynde which he had of nature. And what for that he douted if any peace or cōposicyon after that shuld be made bytwene Jugurth and the romayns hymselfe shulde be delyuerd by cōdycion to the romayns to be punysshed for the deth of Massyua whom he caused to be slayne at Rome. This Bomylchar whane he sawe his tyme toke leue of Metellus on this apoyntmēt: and sone after came to Jugurth whom he founde doutfull in care and bewayling his aduers and myserable fortunes with profounde syghes and heuynesse/ and doutynge what way was moost expedyent to be taken. Bomylchar after many wordes beganne to counsell and warne hym/ prayng e/ and obtestyng hym pyteously weppng and wayling: and requyring that at last he wolde make some prouysion for the sauegarde and socours of hymselfe/ of his chyldren and frendes: and for the peple of Numidy which well had deseruedde agaynst hym to be prouyded for and better sene to. Bomylchar also obiected to Jugurth how he and his menne were ouercome in euery batayle/ and his people also dyminysshedde or alyenate frome hym/ his feldes and townes wasted & distroyd or els in possession of his ennemies/ his men some taken & in prison. Some

Sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat: insidias regi per amicos tēdere: et eorum per fidia pro armis vti parat.

Igitur Bomilcharem qui Romæ cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde vadibus datis clam Massiuæ nece iudiciū fugerat: q ei p maximā amicitiā proxia copia fallendi erat: multis policitatiōibus aggredit ac primo efficit vti ad se colloquēdi gratia occulte veniat: deinde fide data si Iugurthā viuū aut necatum sibi tradidisset: fore vt illi senatus impunitatem et sua oi cōcederet: facile Numidæ persuadet: tū ingenio fido: tū metuenti ne si pax cū romanis fieret: ipse p cōditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

Is vbi primum opportunum fuit Iugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit.

Monet atq; lachrimans obtestatur vbi aliquādo sibi, liberisq; et gēti Numidarum optime merite prouideat: oibus prælijs sese victos: agrū vastatū multos mortalis captos aut occisos: regni opes cōminutas esse: satis sepe iā virtutem militū et fortunam tentatam: caueat ne illo cunctāte Numidæ sibi consulant.

slayne: and many wounded and maymed/ the richesse of his realme dyminysshed and wasted. Bomylchar alleged also to hym that he had proued the strength of his soudyours and fauour of fortune sufficyently ynough/ wherfore it were better for hym to se some remedy and prouision for all these ylles and other mo/ and to beware lest whyle he prolõged the tyme and douted the people of the countrey shuld prouyde for themselfe without his aduyse or counsell. With these wordes and other lyke Bomylchar induced the kynges mynde to make some cõposicyon or els to yelde hymself/ and all other thynges to mercy and grace of ꝑ romayns. Anone embassadours were sende to Metell⁹ to certify hym that Jugurth was redy to do what euer he wolde desyre or cõmaunde hym: & that he wolde cõmyt and yelde bothe hymselfe and his kyngdome to the fayth and grace of Metellus: and of the romayns without any pactyon/ couenaunt/ or exception: sauyng onely as it pleasedde them to deale with hym. Metellus herynge of this mynde of Jugurth was very glad: and cõmaunded all the moost wyse noble/and worthy men of his army anon to be called togyder vnto hym from their wyntring places. Whan they were come than toke he counsell of them & of other suche as he knewe wysest and moost discrete touchyng the embassade of Jugurth. Anone it was concluded and decreed among the counsell and declared to the embassadours (acordynge to the olde custome of Rome) that they shuld cõmaunde Jugurth to sende to Metellus and ꝑ romayns two hundred thousand pound weyght of syluer: all his elyphantes which he occupyed in warre: and a certayne quantite of armour and a nõbre of his chiefe horse. All these thinges were fulfylled and done of Jugurth without any tary or delay. Wherfore anone after Metellus cõmaũded agayne that all they which had betrayed his hoost/ forsaken him and fled to Jugurth shuld be bounden and so brought to hym agayne. The moost part of them were brought as he cõmaunded: but a fewe of them whan they harde first of this cõposicyon (feryng ꝑ same mater) fled vnto the kyng Bocchus which was the kyng of the moryens. ¶ Whan Jugurth after this maner was bereft of his armour/ of his horse/ of his men and also of his treasour. Anone after he was called by Metellus to cõe to a towne called Tyspidiũ they to here what farther more shuld be cõmaũded to hym: & to yeld hymselfe to thẽpyre of Rõe acordyng to his embassade. But he began thã to thãg & to turne his mynd agayn dredig for ꝑ knolegig of his cruel ded that he

His atq; alijs talibus ad deditionem regis animũ impellit: mittuntur ad i peratorem legati: qui Iugurtham imperata factu rum dicerent: ac sine vlla pactione sese/ regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere.

Metellus cunctos senatorij ordinis ex hibernis propere accersi iubet: eorum atque aliorum quos idoneos ducebat: consilium habet.

Ita more maiorum cõsilij decreto p legatos Iugurthæ imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia/ elephantos omnes/ equorũ et armorum aliquãtulũ.

Quæ postq̃ sine mora facta sũt: iubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci.

Eorũ magna pars vti iussum erat adducti.

Pauci quum primũ deditio cepit: ad regem Bocchum in mauritaniã abierant. Igitur Iugurtha vbi armis/ virisque et pecunia spoliatus est: cum ipse ad imperandũ Tisidiũ vocaretur rursus cepit flectere aim: & ex mala conscientia digna timere.

that he shulde neuer escape worthy punyshment if he were ones in the romayns handes. Thus he contynued many dayes in doutyng what was best to be done. Somtyme he volued in his mynde rather to subdue hymselfe to any difficulte & to byde all payues than to begyn warre agayne: cõsyderyng the aduersand vnhappy fortune which he had before. Somtyme agayn he called to mynde how greuous a fall it shulde be to descende from a kyngdome into subiectyon and bondage. But at conclusion whan in vayne and to none effect he had lost such great ordynaūce and helpe of warre as he had lately delyuered to Metellus: as a volage brayned man/ he fully determyned a gayne to begyn and contynue ꝑ warre with Metellus: rather than to yelde hymselfe to deth or captiuyte. ¶But duryng this season at Rome was a counsell among the senatours cõcernyng thassignemẽt of rule and gouernaunce of the pronyn ces belongyng to thempyre: in which counsell it was decreed that the cõtrey & warre of Numidy shuld be cõmytted to Metellus/ by progation of his authorite for an other yere more. ¶But here wyll I leue a whyle to speke of Metellus: & write of the ambytion of Marius: and how he behaued hymselfe in supplantyng the same Metellus for his rowme and dygnite.

Denique multis diebꝰ dubitationem consumptis: quum modo tedio rerum aduersarum oia bello potiora duceret: interdum secũ ipse reputaret q̃ grauis casus inseruitium ex regno foret multis magnisque præsidiis ne quicq̃ perditis de integro bellum sumit.

Et Romæ senatꝰ de prouinciis cõsultus: Numidiã Metello decreuerat.

## How Marius by ambytion laboured to be cõsull and to prosecute the warre of Numidy: and how he detracted and supplãted the consull Metellus. ¶The.xxxix.chapyter.

¶Per idem tempus Vticæ forte Caio Mario pro hostias diis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat.

IN the same season the sayd Marius was in a towne named Utica/ and they made supplycation and oblacyon to theyr dolles with moche sacrifice to the intent ꝑ it might be his fortune (by his helpe) to haue the place of Metellus. A custome damnable was among the people at those dayes: whan they slewe any beest in sacrifice: to loke within the intrayles and bowelles of ꝑ same beest so sacrifised. Where was shewed vnto them dyuers tokens whyther they shuld haue any hope to bring that mater to effect: for which they sacrificed or els nat. And often tymes the wycked spyrites to cause them pleuer in their ydoletry: and to gyue credẽce to that blynde errour shewed many tokẽs to thẽ in such maner sacrifice: which

Proinde quę animo agitabat freqūs diis ageret.

q̄ sepissime fortunam expiretur: et omnia prospere eueniunt.

At illum iam antea consulatus ingēs cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiēdum preter vetustatē familie oia abunde erant:

industria/ probitas/ militie magna scientia/ animus belli ingens/ domi modicus: libidinis et diuitiarum victor: tantum medo glorie auidus.

Sed is natus & per omnē puericiam Arpine alitus vbi primum etas militie patiens fuit stipēdijs faciundis: non greca facūdia: neq; vrbanis mūditijs sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium breui adoleuit.

Ergo vbi primum tribunatum militarē a populo petit plerisque faciē eius ignorantibus facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur.

Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit: sempque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat: vt ampliore honore q̄ gerebat dignus haberetur.

tokens they often founde true. But nowe to my purpose. The preest of the ydolles which sacrifyced for Marius shewed great and marueylous tokens vnto hym: wherby he myght greatly trust to come to his intent and purpose/ bydding hym prosecute that thyng on which he had sette his mynde: and haue sure cōfydence in his goddes. Sayng that yf he wolde proue the extremyte of fortune dyligently and often: than doutlesse euery thyng prosperously shulde happen to hym. But Marius afore that tyme: long season wonderously despredde in his mynde the dygnite of the consull. And to say trueth he wanted nothyng which longed to hym/ which shulde haue suche a dygnite saue onely antiquite of his progeny and auncient nobleneſſe of byrthe. For though he were but a genyman of the first heed: neuertheleſſe his condycions were worthy and excellent. In hym was great experience of wysdome/ moch probyte/ honeſtie/ and sadneſſe. He had great policy and cōnyng in chyualry: in batayle his mynde was exellent and bolde. But in peace it was lowe and moderate. He ouercame ryches and sensualyte of his body. He desyred nor coueyted nothyng erthly saue glorie/ laude/ and worshyp. This Marius was borne and brought vp by all his chyldhode in the contrey of Champayne beyond France in a towne named Arpyne. But assone as he was encreased/ so that he myght bere harneſſe and byde the hardneſſe of warfare: he cōcluded to lyue on the wages of chyualrie. And in that study he exercysed hymselfe: and nat in eloquēce of greke langage or in other study or science: nor yet in the superfluous aparayle nor carnall lustes of citezyns vnto which he neuer subdued his body. And thus was he indued with good maners: and exercysed among honest occupations and so cōtynued that his hole & vndefyled wyt shortly encreased and exalted hymself growyng to honour and vertu. First whan this Marius desyred of ỹ comenty of Rome to haue an office: ỹ is to say/ to be ordayned ꝓtectour of the soudyours: many of the citezyns knewe nat his person: bycause he was al way frō the cyte in warre and batayle: but his actes made his nāe well knowen. Wherfore after ỹ the cōmenty vnderstode ỹ he was Marius whose nobles all Italy moch cōmuned & talked: anon they graūted his petition/ & proclamed hym protectour of ỹ soudyors ouer all ỹ prouinces & tribes of Italy. In ỹ maisterſhip & office he behaued hiſelf so well & wyſely that after ỹ he obtaynd an other office of more worshyp & authorite: & after ỹ agayne an other of hyer dygnite. And shortly to speke:

in euery

in euery office and dygnite he so behaued hymselfe that euery man thought and coũted hym worthyer of more dygnite and honour than he had. How beit for all these condycions: as honorable as he was: he durst neuer before desyre thoffice of cõsull of Rome tyll this tyme whan he had suche confort by his sacrifice. But whan he was thus warnedde and put in hope and confort/ euer after he was hedelyng enclyned to ambycion and couetyse of that dygnite.

At this season the cõmenty of Rome had all other offices among them or at their gyft and dystribucyon. But the estates and noble men kept among them and in their handes the consullhypp̃ yerely one succedyng an other by electyon. So that of the cõmenty was none so noble nor exellent of dedes/ but ỹ he was reputed vnworthy of that dygnite/ and as who sayth vyle and polluted. But whan Marius sawe and considredde that the wordes and counsell of ỹ enchauntour and preest whi che behelde his sacrifyce pretended to the same poynt and cõclusion as the desyre of his mynde moued hym longe before. Anone he came to his cappytayne Metellus/ besechyng hym to be dyscharged of the batayle tyll he might go to Rome to thintent to desyre the consullhyppe of the senatours. But howbeit that in this Metellus was vertu/ glorie/ worthyppe/ and all other thynges longynge to a good man plentifully ynoughe. Neuertheles of his courage & mynde was he somwhat proude/ desppsing/ and dysdaynyng other: which were nat come of so hy lynage as he was. But specially he was stately & proude of mynde: which is a cõmen vyce and myschefe among estates and gentylmen. Wherfore Metellus heryng this enprise of Marius/ first of all was moued with the newelty of his peticyon. For at that tyme were none wont to speke for that dygnite/ but yf they were come of a noble stocke. And so was nat Marius. And thus Metellus marueyled moche at his enterprise: and who myght counsell hym therto: warnyng hym as vnder colour of ampte and frendlyppe/ nat to presume vpon so contrary and vnlikely a thyng: nor to exalt his mynde so hy aboue fortune cõuenyent for his state & condycion. Sayng also to hym that euery thing was nat to be couepted nor desyred of euery man. And ỹ it becãe him well by reason to be cõtented pleased/ & satysfied with that honour which he had & that was his owne/ & nat to desyre thinges vnmete for his degre. And fynally he exhorted & counselled hym to beware to desyre ỹ thing of the Romayns which lawfully might be denyed vnto hym:

Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir consulatum petere non audebat.

Nam postea ambitiõe p̃ceps datus est.

Et iam tum alios magistratus plebs: consulatũ nobilitas p manus inter se tradebat. Nouus nemo tam præclarus: neq; tam egregijs factis erat: quin is indignus illo honore haberetur.

Igitur vbi Marius haruspicis dicta eodẽ quo cupido animi hortabãt intendere videt ab Metello consulatum petendi gratia missionem rogat. Cui q̃q; virtus/ gloria/ atque alia optanda bonis supabant: tamen ineratt cõemptor animus & supbia cõe nobilitatis malum.

Itaque primum comot̃ insolita re/ mirari eius consilium: et quasi per amicitiam mouere: ne tã praua incipet: neu supra

fortunam aĩm gereret. non omnia omnibus cupiẽda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere:

Postrẽo caueret id petere a populo romão quod illi

iure negaretur.
Postq̄ hæc atq; alia talia dixit: neque animus Mari flectitur: respōdit vbi primum potuissent p negotia publica facturum sese quæ peteret.
At postea sepe eadem postulanti fertur dixisse: ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio consulatum petiturum.

Is eodem tempore in cō tubernio patris ibidem militabat ānos nat⁹ circiter viginti.
Quæ res Matium tū pro honore quem affectabat: tum pro licentia redeundi quem ab eo impetrare nequibat: contra Metellum vehementer accēderat. Ita cupidine atq; ira pessimis consultoribus grassari: neque facto vllo neque dicto abstinere: quod modo ambitiosum foret.
Milites quibus in hibernis præerat laxiore imperio q̄ ante habere:

apud negotiatores quor magna multitudo Vticæ erat: criminose et simul magnifice de bello loqui dimidia pars exercit⁹ si sibi pmitteretur: paucis diebus Iugurtham in cathenis habiturum: ab impetratore consulto bellū trahi: q; homo inanis et regie supbie imperia nimis gauderet:

consydryng and hauyng regarde to his lynage and auncestry.
¶ After Metellus had counselled Marius with these wordi and otherlyke: and ꝑ he coude nat tourne nor apease his mynde: he answered hym at last that assone as he coude cōuenyently (nat lettyng the besynesse of the cōmen wele) he wold graūt his desyre and peticyon. But after this whan Marius desyredde the same dyscharge impoztunely and often: he made hym answere sayng that he shulde nat make so great hast to Rome for that purpose for he shulde cōe tymely ynough to demaunde that dygnite acompanyed with the sonne of the same Metellus/ which sonne shulde also go to Rome in tyme to come to demaunde of the senatours the same dygnite w̄ Marius. This sonne of Metellus was at that tyme in the army of his father Metellus cōtynually exercysing the feates of warre nat withstandyng ꝑ he was but .xx. yere of age. This answere of Metellus styzedde Marius agaynst hym with greuous yre and wzath/ what for the honour which he desyred: and what for ꝑ lycence to dept/ which he coude nat obtayne of him by no prayer nor request at his pleasure. In somoch that he enraged agaynst Metellus moued by desyre of that office & prouoked of by yre/ which two vyces and ambycion and yre counselled and impelled this Marius to moche yll agaynst the sayd Metellus/ sparyng nouther wozde nor dede which myght endamage or hynder hym/ his honour and name. And that myght helpe or auaunce hym selfe by ambycion to come to the dygnite which he desyred. He gouerned the soudyours which passed forthe ꝑ wynter vnder his gouernaunce nat as he ought to do: but suffred them to haue their pleasure to thintent therby to obtayne their fauour and goodwyll in his enterprise. Also he spake often in blamyng Metellus/ and prowdly cōmendyng and exaltyng hymselfe vnto the marchantes of Rome: of whom was great resort and concours to the sayd cite of Utica whey Marius sotourned. And often tymes he boosted sayeng to them ꝑ if the one halfe of the army were graunted & cōmytted to hym within fewe dayes he wolde behaue hym selfe that he wold haue Jugurth in bondes and subiection. Farthermore he sayed to them in auancynge hymselfe that Metellus prolonged the bataple for the nonest/ for a craft bycause he was a man pompous and desyrous of glozie and wozshyp̄/ vttesly reioysing in authozite and gyuen to pride and affection of dygnite: and bycause he knewe well ꝑ whyle the batell contynued he shulde be reputed in maner as a kyng/ therfore he dyd his deuoyre ꝑ moze to

more to prolong the warre to thende that in the meane tyme he myght exalt and magnify hymselfe. These wordes of Marius semed to ꝑ sayd marchantes certayne & true/ & also as they thought (by suche informacion) moost expedyēt to the cōmen wayle that some newe cappytayne were chosen/ which shortely wold finysshe that warre. For by long contynuance of ꝑ same warre: many of the sayd marchātes had wasted & spent moche of their substance & richesse. And also to suche desyrefull myndes as they had/ nothyng coude to fast be hasted or brought to ende. ¶ Moreouer at this season was in company of the romayne army a certayne numidyan named Gauda/ whiche was sonne of Manastaball: and neuewe vnto Massinissa. Micipsa in his testament ordayned that this Gauda shulde be seconde heyre of Numidy/ after the deth of his two sonnes and of Jugurth. This Gauda was sore enfebledde with dyseases and syckenesse: and for that cause his mynde was a lytell endulled and priuate of reason and memorie. Whyle this Gauda (as sayed is) was in the romayns army: he requyred of Metellus to suffre hym to haue his seat and siege nert vnto hym after the vse of kynges of Numidy. Also after that by cause of defence and garde of his body: he desyred that a company of soudyours of the romayns myght be graūted and assigned to hym. But Metellus extremely denyed bothe his peticyons sayng for the first: that suche honour longed onely to them whom the romayns toke and named for kynges. And also for the seconde peticyon he sayd that it were an vnaduysed & iniuryous ordynance if the romayne soudyours were gyuen or assigned to the garde and seruyce of a Numidyan/ whiche was no kyng but a soudyour lyke many mo hyred for stypēd. Whyle Gauda was dysplesed and angry with Metellus for denyeng of these his peticyons: Marius came to hym and prayed hym he wolde reneng the dysplesure and iniury whiche the captayne had done to hym with his helpe and euaunce mēt. This Gauda (as I haue sayd before) was of a feble and vnstable mynde: and the mannes wytte was of lytell valoure by meanes of dyseases which long had holden hym. Wherfore Marius with his elegant/ fayre/ and flatering wordes at his owne pleasure induced hym and exalted his mynde sayng that he was a kynge an excellent and great man. And also neuewe to the worthy and noble kyng Massinissa. Wherfore (sayd he yf Jugurth were outher slayne or taken prisoner it was lickely to come to ꝑ poynt: that the kingdome of Numidy shuld be

Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur: quia diuturnitate belli res familiares corruperat: et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

Erat preterea in exercitu nostro numida quidā nomine Gauda Manastabalis filio: Massinisse nepos: quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredē scripserat: morbis confectus et ob eā causam mēte paululū imminuta. Cui Metellus peteēti more regum vt sellam iuxta poneret: item postea custodie causa turmā equitum romanorum: vtrumque negauerat: honorem q eorū modo foret quos populus romanus reges appellauisset: presidium q cōtumelioſū foret: si equites romani satelliti numidæ traderentur.

Hunc Marius anxiū aggreditur: atque hortatur vt contumeliarum imperatoris cū suo auxilio penas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parū valido secūda oratione extollit: illum regem/ ingētem virum/ Massinissę nepotem esse: si Iugurtha captus aut occisus foret imperium Numidiæ sine mora habiturum.

id adeo matute posse eue nire: si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque et illum/et equites romanos: milites et negotiatores alios ipse: plerosq; pacis spe impellit vti romam ad suos necessarios aspere i Metellum de bello scribant.

Marium imperatorē poscāt sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulat⁹ petebatur. Simul ea tēpestate plebs nobilitate fusa per legē manliam nouos extollebat.

Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

assigned and cōmytted to hym of the senatours without any tary or resystence: which thynge shulde shortely be brought to passe yf Marius hymselfe were creat consull in place of Metellus and thā assigned to execute and fynysshe the warr with Jugurth. Under this maner Maryus counselled and induced bothe the sayd Gauda/ the romayne knyghtes/ the cōmen soudyours/ and also the marchauntes and occuppyers whiche were in the towne at that season with many other whom he ipelled with his wordes so: that some of them for loue whiche they had to Marius. And other some for great hope and desyre which they had to haue peace and cōcorde wrote to Rome to their kynsmen and frendes of the batayle of numidy and ȳ very sharpely agaynst Metellus desyring and besechyng thē to labour at Rome withall their myght that Marius myght be elect consull and assigned to execute the warr of Numidy. And thus at Rome was the consullshyppe desyredde by many men with great fauour and very honest peticyons for Marius. Also at that tyme had the sayd Marius this auauntage. For the cōmentie at that season deposed many of the states: & exalted such as were newe gentylmen after the lawe of one named Manlius which before had ben protectour of the cōmentie. This Manlyus ordayned and inactedde a lawe/ that if any thyng were vngoodly done and agaynst right of the states beyng in any office or dygnite: thā he which so had done shulde be deposed of his office: and in his place some newe gentyll or actyue man of the commentie sette and deputed and so exalted. This lawe at those dayes was kept in effect and executed at Rome: wherfore euery thyng proceded prosperously to the purpose and profet of Marius. For (as I haue sayd before) in hym was no noblenesse of auncyent lynage nor of byrthe.

But here wyll I leaue to speke of the ambytion of Maryus and retourne to wryte of Jugurth: and howe he behaued hymselfe agaynst Metellus.

## Howe Jugurth renewed the warre agaynst Metellus/ and how the numidyans inhabyters of the towne of Vacca by treason murdred the garnyson of romayns which Metellus had set in the same towne. The.xl.chap.

IN the meane tyme whã Jugurth had broken the compoſicyon which he had before made with Metellus by coũſell of Bompichar/and had concluded agayne to begyn the warre: than anone he prepareddе all thynges neceſſary to battayle with great dilygence. And with great haſt he aſſembled an armp. Moreouer he dayly troubled with thretnynges/ or feare/ or els with greãt rewardes: ſuche cytees and townes as before had forſaken hym and yelded thẽſelfe to Metellus. So that he ſparedde no polycie to make them to render them ſelfe agayne to hym. In ſuche holdes and townes as were in his poſſeſſion/he ſette garnyſon and defence of men of warre. He renewed and bought agayne armour and weppn/ and all other thynges which he had loſt before: or delyuerd to Metellus in hope of peace. He attyſedde vnto hym many of the Romayns ſubgettes and bondmen: by prompſing to them theyr lybertie. Jugurth alſo proued and attempted with rewardes them: whome Metellus had ſette and aſſigned in garnyſon/ garde/ and defence of ſuche places as he had wonne in Numidy: ſo that vtterly he ſuffred nothyng to be left quyet nor vnaſſayed: but by all maner meanes made prouyſion for hymſelfe mouynge and puttyng in profe euery thynge. But among all other thinhabytantes of the cyte called Vacca: in which Metellus at begynnyng had ſette his garnyſon: whan Jugurth firſt ſought his peace of Metellus: were deſyred often of Jugurth & with great & impoꝛtũe inſtance excited to treaſon. In ſomoch that at laſt they aſſẽted to hym to cõſpyre agaynſt the romayns. Thinhabytantes of the cyte dyd nat yelde thẽſelfe from Jugurth with their owne goodwyll: and namely theſtates and rulers therof dyd neuer yelde them to Metellus ſaue faynedly. Wherfore ſpecially they were the firſt that cõſpyred agaynſt hym ſecretely amonge themſelfe. For why as it often happeneth the cõmentie and ſpecially of the numidyans were vnſtable of mynde/ vtterly enclyned to ſedycion and dyſcorde couetous of newe thynges and changes: and contrary to reſt and quyetneſſe. But (as I haue ſayd before) whan the chyfe of the cyte had ſecretly concluded and apoynted their matter & treaſon among themſelfe: agaynſt the thyrde day they ordayned that the ſame thyrde day next after ſhulde be cõmaunded ſolem/holy/and worſhypped ouer all the countrey of Affryke: and Numidy. Which day ſhewed and pretended by all ſymilytude myrth/game/and ſport: rather thã any drede to the ro-

¶ Interi Iugurtha poſtq̃ omiſſa deditione bellũ incipit: cum magna cura parare omnia feſtinare: exercitum cogere: ciuitates quæ a ſe defecerant formidine: aut oſtentando præmia affectare: cõmunire ſuos locos: arma tela: aliaque quæ ſpe pacis amiſerat reſicere aut cõmercari: ſeruitia rõanorum allicere: et eoſipſos qui i præſidijs erãt pecunia tentare: prorſus intactum nihil neq; quietum pati: cũcta agitare.

Igitur Vaccẽſes (quo Metellus in initio Iugurtha pacificante preſidium iposuerat) fatigati regis ſuplicijs: neq; antea ſua voluntate alienati principes ciuitatis iter ſe cõiurant.

Nam vulgus vti plerũq; ſolet et maxime Numidarum ingenio mobili ſeditioſum atque diſcordioſum erat cupidũ nouarum rerum quieti & otio aduerſum. Deinde cõpoſitis inter ſe rebus in diẽ tertium conſtituunt q̃ is feſtus celebratusque per omnem Aphricam: ludũ

et lasciuiam magis q̃ for
midinem ostẽdebat. Sed
vbi tempus fuit centuri
ones tribunosq; milita-
res et ipsum præfectũ op
pidi. Titum Turpilium
Sillanum alius alium in
domos suas inuitant:

eos ois præter Turpiliũ
inter epulas obtrũcant.

Postea milites palantes:
inermes quippe i tali die
ac fine imperio aggredi-
untur.

Idẽ plebs facit pars edo
cti a nobilitate: alij studi
o talium rerum incitati.

Quis acta consiliumq; i-
gnorãtibus tumultus ip
se & res nouæ satis place
bant. Romani milites i-
prouiso metu incerti ig-
nariq; quid potissimũ ia
cerent trepidare. Ad
arcem oppidi vbi signa
et scuta erant præsidium
hostium; portæ ante clau
sæ fugam prohibebãt ad
hoc mulieres pueriq; pro
tectis ædificiorum saxa
et alia quæ locus præbe-
bat certati mitttere: ita
neq; caueri anceps malũ
neq; a fortissimis i firmis
simo generi resisti posse:
iuxta boni maliq; strenui
et ibecilles multi obtrũ-

mayns which were in garde and garnyson of the cyte. But ỹ numidyans full of prodycion & treason whan they sawe their tyme called vnto their houses all the chefe captayns and ma-ister soudyours of the romayns which were in ỹ towne. And also one named Turpylius: whom Metellus had ordayned to be his lyeutenãt/prouost/and chefe captayne of the towne: they enuyted and called as yf it had ben to chere and feest thẽ/ one to one house/an other to an other. But this chere was suche as the Scorpyon is wont to make: which whyle she maketh gladde semblãt with her mouth mortally styngeth with ỹ tayle: so this feest was a cloke to mortall treason. For whyle the romayns were in myddes of their daynties vnarmed suspectyng no paryll. All the numydians at a token gyuen and one houre apoynted before/slewe eche one his geest which dyned with hym without fauoure: so that among them all escaped nat one/except the sayd Turpylius heed captayne or lyeutenant of the towne. This done: all the numydians togyder sette vpon the remenant of the cõmen soudyours which wandred and strayed abrode in the towne and in the stretes/ dysspedde abrode without any armour: as is wont on suche a day without order/ferynge nor doutyng no daunger. Some of ỹ cõmens whan thestates had made them pryue of this treason came also to helpe them/and some other ignorant of the mater saupng that/ that they had despre and pleasure in suche murder inuadedde the romayns also. For though they were ignorant of the counsell of this dede: yet the noyse or skirmyssh & newelty of the mater pleased them ynough. The romayn soudyous were ignorant and incertayne of this vnprouyded feare & cruell murder doutyng what was best to bedone. Their ennemies compasynge them on euery syde lette them to go to the castell of the towne where their armoure and weppn was: and the gates of the towne were shet on euery syde before this skyrmissh̃e began/ wherby they wer prohibyted and letted to escape or auoyde the towne. Moreouer women and chyldren thrue downe vpon them stones/ and other thynges that came next to hande from the wyndowes & hyest partes of their houses: stryuing who myght throwe first and moost. Thus this doutfull and vnprouyded myschefe coude nat be eschued: nor they which were ryght worthy and stronge soudyours were nat able to resyst the very cowardyse and feblenes of women and chyldren/ which thrue downe vpon them. Thus many of them: both good and yll/ worthy/ and vnworthy/ strong/and feble:

feble: were all slayne after one maner without dyfference. In this so great ieopardy: the numidyans beyng madde and cruell in murdre/ and the gates shette on euery syde: of all the romayns/ or Italyans: onely Turpylius the captayne escaped without hurt of his body. Whyther it so happened by the fauour of his hoost which called hym to banket: or by some appoyntment of treason: or els by fortune or chance: it was nat knowen for certayn. But this was knowen that euer after as long as he lyued he was reputed for a vyle and a wretched cowarde and without credēce: bycause that in so great losse and myschefe he counted it better to escape: and after to lyue/ and dye in shame/ and rebuke: than manly to haue dyed indefēce of the towne. And euer after to haue had a parfet and immortall name of a worthy cappytayne.

cati sunt. In ea tanta asperitate sæuissimis numidis et oppido vndique clauso. Turpilius prefectus vnus ex oībus Italicis profugit intactus. Id misecordia ne hospitis: an pactiōe an casu ita euenerit parum cōperimnisi quia quod illi in tāto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit improbus instabilisque videtur.

## How Metellus destroyed the towne of Vacca and murdredde all the inhabytauntes/ in reuengyng their treason. And how Turpylius lyeutenaunt or captayne of the towne/ was beheded at cōmaundement of Metellus. ¶ The.xli.chap.

¶ Metellus postq̄ de rebus Vaccę actis comperit pauliſper mœſtus e conſpectu abijt.

When Metellus vnderstode of this lamentable chance/ and treason done at ꝑ towne of Vacca: his mynde was meruayllously greued/ abasshed/ & sadde withall. But to thyntent that none shulde parceyue his heuynesse/ he withdrue hym selfe from company a lytell tyme: and after whan he had satysfyed his mynde with teares/ and secrete lamentacyon. And whan his dolour was myxed with wrathe and displeasure agaynst that cruell dede: than hasted he hymself with great cure and dilygence to go to reuenge this iniurious & cruell treason. Anone he called forthe a legion of soudyours which passed forthe the wynter with hym: and with them also as many horsmen of the Numidyans as he myght assemble which had forsaken Jugurth and fledde to hym: whom he thought most trusty. His legyon he arayed in lyght harnesse & easy armour to thintent to rydde the way more redely. And bycause he entended to go about this mater secretly: therfore secretly euyn ẅ the sonne goyng downe/ he toke his iournay and proceded forwarde towarde Vacca: and laboured so ꝑ on the next day

Deinde vbi ira et ægritudo permista sunt cū maxima cura vltū ire iniurias festinat.

Legionem cum qua hyemabat & q̄ plurimos pōt numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit.

Et postera die circiter horam tertiam peruenit in quãdam planiciem locis paulo superioribus circũuentam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine etiam abnuẽtes oia docet: oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse decere reliquũ laborem æquo ãio patiũ dum pro ciuibus suis viris fortissimis atq; miserrimis pœnas caperet: præterea prædã benigne ostẽtat sic animis eorum arrectis equites i primo latere: pedites q̃ arctissime ire et signa occultare iubet.

after about the thyrde houre he came with his company into a certayne playne a lytell closed or compased about with small hylles nat moche hyer than ꝑ extremytees of the valey. They called he togyder his soudiours which were wery for ꝑ great labour of their iournay: and long way which they had gone. Insomoch that they denyed to procede any farther. But Metellus conforted them sayeng that the towne of Vacca was no more but one myle thens. Wherfore he desyred them to suffre and endure the remenant of their labour with pacyent myndes but onely tyll he reuenge ꝑ deth of his cytezins and their felawes which were stronge and worthy men: and very mysserably murdred. Moreouer he shewed to them benyngely the great pray which was redy for them/ if they wolde manly ꝓcede. Thus were their myndes exalted/conforted/and enbolded with his wordes. Metellus seyng that: was gladde and anone cõmaunded the horsmen to go forth in ꝑ forward these horsmen were numidyans. And the fotemen he cõmaunded to kepe secrete their standerdes/conysances/and badges: and to go behynde vnder ꝑ shadowe of the horsmen as nere togyder as they myght: and so ꝓceded he to the towne.

Vaccenses vbi aĩaduerterẽt ad se versum exercitũ ꝓgere: prio (vti res erat) Metellum esse ratiũ portas clausere. Deinde vbi neq; agros vastari: et eos qui primi aderãt Numidas equites vident: rursum Iugurthã arbitrati cum magno gaudio: obuii procedunt.

Whanne the citezyns sawe an army approche and moue towarde them: at the begynnyng they thought it had ben Metellus (as it was in dede) and anone they shytte the gates of the towne agaynst him. But afterwarde whan they aduysed them well: and sawe that the company which approched made no deuastacyon nor dystruction by the feldes nor countrey as they went. And also whã they parceyued that the horsmen which were in the forwarde were Numidyans: agayne they thought that it was Iugurth with his company. Wherfore with great ioy they issued forthe of the towne to mete hym. Metellus anone parceyued their ignorance and gaue a token to his people to assayle them. The horsmen and fotemen knowynge the will of their captayne by blast of the trumpettes assayled and ouerthrue the cõmentie which came out of the cyte agaynst thẽ: which were dysperssed ouer all the feldes. Some of the romayns ranne to the gates of the towne and entreode without resystence: and some toke and inuaded the towres of the walles maugre the kepars. Thus the dysplesure and yre which the romayns had for deth of their felawes: and ꝑ hope of prayes of the towne ouercame and excluded their werynes which they had in their iournay thyderwarde. Thus the inhabytãtes of Vacca enioyed their treason but onely two dayes. For

Equites et pedites repẽte signo datõ alii vulgũ effusum oppido cædere alii ad portas festinare: pars turres capere.

Ira atque prædæ spes amplius q̃ lassitudo posse.

Ita Vaccenses biduũ modo ex perfidia lætati.

es. For onely the space of two dayes contynued their falshode and cruelitie vnreuenged. For the great and riche cyte was all gyuen to hauocke and murdre and vtterly dystroyed of the romayns: so that no creature escaped a lyue to boost of their treason before cõmytted agaynst the romayns whom they had so trayterously slayne within their cyte. Turpylius lyeutenant or captayne of the towne which (as I haue sayd before) escaped onely with his lyfe: was called before Metellus and commaunded to answere for hymselfe by what way or meanes he escaped/ whyther by treason done to ꝑ towne/ or by any other policy. But bycause he coude but simply excuse nor pourge hi selfe of that which was layed agaynst hym/ he first was scourged and beaten: and after that his heed stryken of frõ his sholders/ for that it was thought that yf he had nat betrayed ꝑ cyte he coude nat escape more than any other. Farthermore that great dystruction of the romayns was ascrybed to his negligẽce or treason. If this Turpylius had ben a romayn he shulde nat haue ben put to deth. For the lawe of Porcius prohibyted any cytezyne of Rome to be slayne: but yf they cõmytted any great offence the extreme punyshment by the lawe was to cõmyt them to exyle. But this Turpylius inioyed nat the priuyleges of this lawe: for almoch as he was no citezyne of Rome/ but an Italyan of the towne of Collace.

Ciuitas magna et opulẽta cuncta pœne atq; prædæ fuit.

Turpilius quem prefectũ oppidi vnũ ex oibus profugisse supra ostendimus iussus a Metello causam dicere: postq; se parum expurgat: condẽnatus verberatusq; pœnas capite soluit.

Nam is ciuis ex latio erat.

## Howe Bomylchar conspyred treason agaynst Jugurth and by what meanes this treason was dyscouered and Bomylchar with certayn other put to deth for the same. ¶ The .xlii. chapyter.

¶ Per idem tẽpus Bomilchar: cuius ipulsu Jugurtha deditionem quã metu deseruit inceperat: suspectus regi et ipse eũ suspiciens: nouas res cupere ad pniciem eius dolũ quærere: diu noctuq; fatigare aim: deniq; oia tentando sociũ sibi adiũgit Nabdalsã hoẽm nobilem magnis opibus clarũ acceptũq; populariꝫ suis.

In the same tyme Bomylchar (by whose counsell and mocyon Jugurth before had begon the compolicion with Metellus which he omitted and brake agayn for feare) was conuersant with Jugurth/ which a lytell suspected this Bomylchare of treason. Wherfore he suspectyng hym agayne ymagenedde ne we polycie agaynst Jugurth dayly seakynge and deuysing some gyle to his dystructyon and dethe/ so that in dyuerse deuyses there about his mynde wandzedde and was werped bothe day & nyght. But whã he had assayed

Is pletũque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare: et oẽs res exequi solitus erat: quæ Iugurthę sesso aut maiorib⁹ astricto fuerant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inuente.

Igitur vtriusq; consilio dies insidiis statuitur.

Cætera vti res poscere pro tempore parati placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus est quẽ iter hiberna romanorum iussus habebet ne ager integris hostibus vastaret.

Is postq̃ magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tps non venit metusq; res impediebat. Bomilchar simul cupidus incœpta patrandi: & timore socij anxius: ne omisso vetere cõsilio nouum quereret literas ad eum p homines fideles mittit i quis molicię secordiamq; viri accusare: & testari deos per quos iurasset monere ne præmea Metelli in pestẽ conuerteret: Iugurthæ exitum adesse: cæterũ sua ne an Metello virtute periret: id modo agitari.

many wayes & that nothing came to purpose: he adioyned vnto hym an other cõpanyon named Nabdalsa/ a noble man exalted and enhaunced with great rychesse: and moche beloued of his cõmentie and people of whom he had rule. This Nabdalsa was so well beloued with Jugurth/ that often tymes he cõmytted to hym an army and power by hymselfe to execute all other thynges which lõged to meane busynesses whyle Jugurth hymselfe was wery ed or lette with other greter thynges: wherby the sayd Nabdalsa had obtayneddde great honour and gathered great richesse. Thus at conclusyon: by apoyntment and counsell bothe of Bomylchar and of Nabdalsa a day was prefixed betwene them to execute their treason agaynst Jugurth. And in the meane tyme they prouyded euery thynge to that purpose as the matter and case requyredde. This apoyntment made: they both departed in sonder. Nabdalsa went to the army which Jugurth had cõmytted to hym for to tary with the same nere to those places where the romayns wyntredde: to thyntent that if the romayns wasted or destroyed the countrey. Nabdalsa with his company shulde other prohybet them: or els so dystourbe them that they shulde nat escape vnreuenged. But whanne the tyme apoynted drewe nere: than was Nabdalsa so abaysshedde for the greatnesse of the dede that he mette nat with Bomylchar at the day and tyme assigned. This his great feare letted all the matter. But whan Bomylchar was thus dysapoynted of his pattynge fellowe he was greatly abaysshed: neuertheless his mynde was moche desyrous to parfourme his enterprise. But agayne he was doutfull for this cowardouse fere of his companyon: lest he wolde omytte their first apoyntment and counsell/ and begyn some other newe apoyntmẽt. Wherfore he sent letters vnto hym by trusty frendes/ and partyners of the same treason. In which letters he sharpely blamed the pacyence/ delayeng/ and cowardyse of Nabdalsa/ and vnstableneſſe of his mynde obtesting and callyng vnto wytnes the goddes by whome he had swore to parfourme the sayd treason. Moreouer he warned hym that he wolde nat tourne to their dystruction and cõfusyon: the great rewardes which they bothe myght haue of Metellus. Which thyng truly shuld fortune if Metellus hymselfe shulde bring Jugurth into captiuyte. Farthermore Bomylchar in the same letters gaue monycion to Nabdalsa that thende of Jugurth was nere come: and that it was nat possyble that he myght longe contynewe all thynges conspyredde.

But

But than was the mater in hand whyther he ſhuld be deſtroyed by thē or els by Metellus. Wherfore he exhorted hym well to conſyder in his mynde whyther he had leuer betray hym/ & therby optayne great fauour and rewardes: or els to leaue of tyll Metellus ouercame hym: and than to be put to deth alſo with hym. ¶ Theſe exhortacions with other lyke were cōtayned in ꝑ letters of Bomylchar dyrected vnto Nabdalſa. But whan theſe letters were delyuerd: as chaunce was: Nabdalſa lay in his bedde to recreate and refreſſhe his body wery ed with labour and beſyneſſe/ which he had taken before. Whan Nabdalſa had redde theſe letters and vnderſtode the mynde of Bomylchar: firſt many deuyſes entred his mynde and moche cure he had in muſynge what was mooſt expedyent to be done in the cauſe. But whyle he was in this ſtudy: ſodenly he fell in a ſlombre and his wery membres deſyringe reſt moued hym to fall in ſlepe. This Nabdalſa had a ſeruant longynge to hym whom he moche loued and truſted: in ſomoch that no beſyneſſe nor counſell that he hydd nor kept ſecret from hym: this counſell of betrayng of Jugurth onely except. whan this ſeruant vnderſtode that the ſayd letters were brought to his lorde he thought ꝑ he had nede of his counſell as he was wont and acuſtomed to haue in other maters: and anone entred in to ꝑ tabernacle or tent where his maiſter lay. And ſeyng hym faſt in ſlepe: he toke the letters which Nabdalſa had vnwyſely layd aboue his heed vpon the pyllowe: and ſeyng by the ſuperſcripcyon that the letter came from Bomylchar he redd it to thende. But whan he vnderſtode the treaſon: in all haſt he addreſſed hym with ꝑ ſame letter to Jugurth. Nabdalſa nat long after awoke of ſleape and myſſed the letter/ wherfore anone he enquyred who had ben there in his tent. But in ſhorte ſeaſon came dyuers of his louers from Jugurth which certyfyed hym of all the mater as it was done. Nabdalſa firſt of all entēded to purſue his accuſer: but whan he perceyued that it was but in vayne ſo to do/ conſyderyng that he was all redy in the company of Jugurth: he went vnto Jugurth hymſelfe to thentent to pacify and mytigate his dyppleaſure & wrath. And ſayd vnto hym ꝑ whan the ſayd letters were firſt delyuerd vnto hym he had fully purpoſed nat to kepe them ſecret: but hym ſelfe to haue dyſcloſed thē to Jugurth. But whyle he was ſleepyng his falſe ſeruant (in hope to be aduāced therby) had preuēted hym & done the ſame thyng which he hiſelf had fully purpoſed to do. Farthermore in weppynge he obteſted & requyred

Proīde reputaret aīo ſuo præmea an cruciatum mallet:

ſed cumliteræ allatæ ſuere: forte Nabdalia exercitato corpore feſſus ī lecto quieſcebat. Vbi cognitis Bomilcharis verbis prīo cura: deinde vti ægrum animum ſolet: ſōnus cœpit.

Erat ei numida quidam negotiorū curator fidus acceptusq; et oim conſiliorū niſi nouiſſimi pticeps. Qui poſtq̄ allatus literas audiuit et ex conſuetudine ratus opa aut ingenio ſuo opus eſſe: tabernaculū itroiuit. Dormiente illo epſam ſuper caput in puluio temere poſitum ſumit ac plegit. Deinde propere cognitis inſidijs ad regem pergit Nabdalſa poſt paulo exprectus vbi neque epſam repperit & rem oēm vti acta erat ex pfugis cognouit: primo indicem perſequi conatus eſt poſt q̄ id fruſtra fuit: Iugurtham placandi gratia accedit: dicit quæ ipſe facere parauiſſet pfidia cliētis ſui præuēta: lacrimans obteſtatur p amicitiā perq; ſua āte fideliter acta ne ſuper tali ſcelere ſuſpectum ſe haberet.

hym by all amyte & loue which had ben bytwene them & for all ꝑ faythfull ſeruyce which he had done to hym in forȝetyme nat to haue hym ſuſpected in ſo cruell a dede. Jugurth anſwered to theſe requeſtes of Nabdalſa myldly & ſoberly leſt any gretter varyaunce myght ryſe therof: but moche contrary to the dyſpoſicyon of his mynde. For he thought otherwyſe than he anſwereddde: howbeit he had well refrayned and alayed his wrath before with the deth of Bomylchar/ and of many other whom he knewe firſt deuyſours and partyng felowes of that treaſon whome he had cauſed to be put to dethe before the cũmynge of Nabdalſa: leſt ſome by batayle or other inſurrectyon ſhulde haue proceededde of that beſynneſſe if they had lyued any lengar. ¶From this day forwarde Jugurth was neuer quyet day nor nyght: ſo that he truſted nouther place/ nother man/ nor tyme: but ſuſpected and myſtruſted euery thynge. His ennemies and his owne ſubgettes he dreded and ſuſpectedde bothe in lyke and after one maner. He ſherched and eſpyedde euery place for drede of treaſon doutyng and ſuſpectynge euery ſounde or noyſe that he harde. He reſted and lay ſome nyght in one place and ſome nyght in an other/ and that in abiect and ſecrete places agaynſt the honoure of his eſtate royall. Somtyme he roſe from his bedde in his ſlepe in myddes of the nyght and armed hymſelfe cryeng/ arragyng/ and byolently ſmyting agaynſt the walles of the chambre: as if he had ben in batayle. So ꝑ for the great drede of treaſon which he had/ he toke no reſt nother ſleping nor wakig: but was byolẽtly vered & fered lyke a mad man wout reſon or diſcreſſion.

Ad ea rex aliter q̃ animo gerebat placide reſpõdit Bomilchare interfecto alijſque multis quos ſocios inſidiarum cognouit iram oppreſſerat: ne qua ſeditio aut bellum ex eo negotio oriretur.

Neque poſt id Iugurthae dies aut nox vlla quieta fuit: neq; loco neque mortali cuiq̃ aut tempori ſatis credere. Ciues hoſtes que iuxta metuere circũſpectare oia & omni ſtrepitu paueſcere: alio atq; alio loco ſepe cõtra decꝰ regiũ noctu requieſcere:

interdum ſomno exitus arreptis armis tumultũ facere: ita formidie quaſi vecordia agitare.

## ¶How Metellus renued the warre agaynſt Jugurth: and howe Marius was creat conſull and aſſigned to execute the warre of Numidy at pleaſure of the cõmens agaynſt the wyll of all the noble men of Rome. ¶The.xliii.chapyter.

¶Igitur Metellus vbi de caſu Bomilcharis et iditio pateſacto ex perfugis cognouit rurſus tanq̃ ad integrũ bellum cuncta parat feſtinatq; Marium fatigantem de profectione ſimul et inuiſum

¶When Metellus by ſuche as fledde bytwene the two parties vnderſtode of the chaunce of Bomylchar and of this treaſon dyſcloſed/ he began than agayne to cõtende with Jugurth: with opẽ warre and therto haſted all thyng neceſſary and expedyent. And conſydryng that Marius was cõtynually cryeng on hym for the layd lycence and congy to depart to Rome and alſo

and alſo greuous/ hatefull/ and contrary to hym: aduyſynge hym nat moche neceſſary but lytell mete ſo ſharpe a beſynes. And ſeyng hym yll wyllyng to euery thyng he graunted hym lycence at laſt: to depart towarde Rome as he before had oftē requyred and demaunded by peticyon. ¶But as I haue ſayd long before/ the letters which were ſende to Rome to the commens by fauourers of Marius were well accepted. For whan the cōmentie had ouerſene them/ and by thē vnderſtode the prayſing of Marius: and the dyſprayſing of Metellus. They were all enclyned vtterly to the auauncement of Marius and detractyon of the other. The noblenes of Metellus ꝑ captayne which was before to his great worſhyp and honour tourned nowe toward enuy and hatered agaynſt hym. But ꝑ lownes and vnnoblenes of Marius encreaſed to him fauour ſpecially of the cōmentie which were come of vnnoble blode/ as he was. But the dilygence and fauour of bothe the parties (that is to ſay of theſtates which helde with Metellus: and of the cōmens that helde with Marius) dyd meaſure and gyde euery thynge rather than the good or yll dyſpoſycions of the two aduerſaryes Metellus or Marius. For the commens to dy for it/ concludedde to exalt Marius. And the eſtates in the ſame maner laboured to kepe hym vnder bycauſe he was vnnoble borne/ and to exalt none ſaue them which were come of noble progeny. Farthermore the maiſters and heed officers of the cōmentie which loued debate on euery aſſemble and cōgregation of the cōmens ſore blamed Metellus and dyſpiſed his dedes deſyring of the cōmens that Metellus might be put to the punyſſhe of his heed/ ſayng that he was ſo worthy: for that he prolonged the warr in numidy agaynſt Jugurth more than nede was. But in dyſpiſyng and accuſyng Metellus they forgat nat to cōmende Marius/ and exalt hym with wordes ſomwhat to moche: and more than he was worthy in many poyntes. In ſomoche that the people were ſo greatly enclyned to hym with their fauoure: that all the crafty men and labourers of the cyte. And alſo of the countrey which had no lyuynge ſaue in the labour of their handes left their warke and beſynelle and folowed Marius/ frequentyng and reſortyng to his company. And ſette more by his auauncement and honour than by their owne profet or aduauntage/ truſtyng that after yf he obtayned the ſayd honoure: they ſhulde haue their lyuenge by hym. And thus ſhortly to ſpeke the eſtates and noble men of Rome beynge ſore aſtonyed/ the conſulſhyp ꝓ was

et offenſum ſibi parū ido neū rat⁹: domū dimittit.

Hęc Romæ plebs literis quæ de Metello et Mario miſſæ erāt cognitis volenti animo de ambobus acceperat imperatori nobilitas quæ antea decori fuit inuidie eſſe. At illi alteri genis hūilitas fauorem addiderat. Cæterum in vtroque magis ſtudia ptium q̄ mala aut bona ſua moderata ſunt.

Prætera ſeditioſi magiſtratus vulgum exagitare. Metellū omnibus cōcionib⁹ captis arceſſere. Marij virtutem in mai⁹ celebrare.

Deniq; plebs ſic eſt accenſa vti opifices: aggreſtesque omnes: quorum res fidesque in manibus ſite erant relectis operis frequentarent Mariū et vt ſua neceſſaria poſt illius honorem ducerent.

Ita perculſa nobilitate poſt multas tempeſtates

nouo homini cõsulatus mandaret.

cõmytted to Marius a newe gẽtylman whose predeceſſours before hym to ſuch dygnite coude neuer attayne and were coũted vnworthy. Thus that thynge which many yeres before ꝑ tyme coude neuer be done nor brought about: was nowe brought to effect: ꝑ is to ſay the cõſulshyp which was ꝑ mooſt excellent dygnite of Rome was nowe in handes of the cõmentie and cõmytted to a man of baſſe byrth. Shortly after this: the protectour of the cõmente named Lucius Manlius enquyred and demaunded of the people whom it wolde pleaſe them to ſend into Numidy to finyſſhe the warre with Jugurth. The mooſt part of the cõmẽty anſwered that Marius ſhulde haue that office and beſynelle: howbeit a lytell before that tyme the ſenatours had aſſigned by their ordynaunce the prouynce of Numidy to Metellus for his worthy dedes: wherfore nowe this ordynaunce was fruſtrate and voyde. For the commenty wolde haue their ſtatutes executed and fulfylled.

Et poſtea populus a Tribunoplebis Lucio Manlio mãcino rogatus quẽ vellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere: frequẽs Mariũ iuſſit. Sed ſenatus pauloante Metello Numidiam prouinciam decreuerat ea res fruſtra erat.

## ¶Of the ſeconde batell foughten betwene Metellus and Jugurth: and howe Jugurth loſt the bataile and alſo one of his chiefe townes named Thala. ¶The.xliiii.chapyter.

¶Eodem tẽpore Iugurtha amiſſis amicis (quorum plerosque ipſe necauerat: cæteri formidine: pars ad romanos: alij ad regem Bocchum profugerant) quum neque bellũ geri ſine adminiſtris poſſet: et nouorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculoſum duceret: varius incertusq; agitabatur: neq; illi res: neque cõſilium aut quis quã hominum ſatis placebat: itinera/profectus que indies mutare: modo aduerſus hoſtes: interdum inſolitudines peteret ſepe in fuga ac paulo poſt in armis ſpem habe-

IN the meane tyme whyle the interpriſe of Marius ꝓceded thus forwarde at Rome: Jugurth was ſore troubled in his mynde for many conſyderations. Firſt he conſyderd on the loſſe of many whome he reputed for his frendes tyll before he knewe their treaſon of whom he had many put to deth and many other had fledde from hym for feare/come to the romayns/ and other ſome to Bocchus kynge of the mauryans. He called alſo to his mynde that without mynyſters and men of warre he was nat able to execute the warre: and moreouer he thought it ieopardous after ſo great falſhode and treaſon of his olde frẽdes to prouve or aſſay their fydelite of newe. For theſe cauſes and mo lyke (as I haue ſayd before) his mynde was driuen to and fro/ varyable & incertayne in dyuers oppynyons. In ſomoch that there was no maner thyng/ no coũſell nor no maner man: that coude ſufficyently ſatiſfy nor pleaſe his mynde. He changed his tournayes and wayes euery day into ſondry places for feare of treſon. Somtyme he addreſſed hym towarde his ennemies: and anone aſt returned into woodes and

des and wyldernesses. Often tymes he had trust and cõfidẽce in flyght: and anone he put his trust in armour and batayle. He douted whyther he myght lesse trust to strength or trueth of his men which were with hym: so that what euer he purposed to do: or whyther so euer he intended: euery thyng was cõtrary to hym. But whyle Jugurth thus prolonged and taryed: sodenly Metellus with his army appered in his syght. Jugurth that parceyuing: set in order and array his numidyans as well as he myght after the short tyme which he had ther to. And immedyatly the armyes approched: and the batayle began. In that part of the batayle where Jugurth hymselfe was: they stroue and resysted a lytell space: but all the other numidyans at the first brunt/ concourse or assaut were put to flight with violence: and driuen backwarde. The romayns toke some of their standerdes and armour/ which they fleyng away left behynde them: but of their ennemies they toke but fewe. For the numidyans in that batayle and almoost in all other defended themselfe better with their fete: than with their handes or armoure. Jugurth at this tyme: mystrusted de his case moche more than at any other tyme euer before/ for the cowarde withdrawyng of his peple. Wherfore he acompanyed hymselfe with the romayns which had forsaken and betrayed Metellus: and fledde to hym. With them/ and with a part of his horsmen he fledde into the wyldernesses therby: and from thens vnto a towne named Thala/ which was a great towne and a riche: and moche of his treasour and of the aparell longyng to ỹ yongth of his yong chyldren was in ỹ same towne. But whan Metellus vnderstode that Jugurth was fledde to so ryche a towne/ how beit he knewe that bytwene the towne and the next flod therto was .l. myle space of dry groũd voyde and without habytacyon: neuertheles he toke in hande to ouercome all sharpnesse and dyfficulte of places. And also to ouercõe nature though it semed impossyble to mannes mynde. This thyng Metellus toke in hande in hope to fynysshe ỹ batayle moche sooner yf he myght wynne that towne.

¶ Wherfore he cõmanded that all the beestes which serued for carryage/ shulde be vnladen of all suche baggage and burthens as they caryed longynge to the souldyours: saue onely where and bitayle for the space of .x. dayes. Also he cõmaũded some of the beestes to be laden with bottels full of water/ and other vessels mete to be caryed with water. Moreouer: ouer all the contrey he gathered togyder as many same beestes as

re: dubitare virtuti an fi dei populariũ minus cre deret. Ita quocunq; intẽderat res aduerse erant.

Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique sunt. Deinde prælium incipitur: qua in parte rex pugnæ affuit: ibi aliquandiu certatum est. Cæteri eius oẽs milites prio cõgressu pulsi fugatiq; fũt: Romani signor: et armorũ et aliquanto numero hostium paucorũ potiti sunt. Nam ferme numidas in oibus prælijs magis pedes q̃ arma tutati sunt. Ea fuga Iugurtha impẽsius modo rebus suis diffidẽs cũ perfugis & parte equitat⁹ in solitudines: deinde Thalam puenit: id oppidũ magnũ atq; opulentum: ibi pleriq; thesari filiorum: eius multus puerítiæ cultus erat. Quæ postq̃ Metello comperta sunt q̃q̃ inter Thalam flumenq; proximũ in spatio miliũ quinquaginta loca arida atq; vasta esse cognouerat tñ spe patrandi belli si eius oppidi potitus foret: oĩs asperitates superiadere ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur oĩa iumenta sarcinis leuari iubet: nisi frumento dierum decẽ. Cæterũ vires modo et alia vasa aquæ idonea portari. Præterea cõquirit ex agris q̃ pluri

mum poteſt domiti pecoris: eoq; imponit vaſa cuiusq; modi: ſed pleraque lignea collecta ex tuguriſs numidarum. Ad hoc finitimis imperat: qui ſe poſt regis fugam Metello dediderãt: q̃ plurimũ vt quiſq; aquæ portaret. Diem locumq; vbi præſto fuerit prædicit. Ipſe flumine: quam proximã oppido aquã eſſe ſupra diximus: iumenta onerat. Eo mõ inſtructus ad Thalam proficiſcitur. Deinde vbi ad id loci ventum eſt quo numidas præcepe rat et caſtra poſita muni taq; ſunt: tãta repente celo miſſa vis aquę dicitur vt ea modo exercitui: ſatis ſuperq; foret.

Præterea cõmeatus ſpe amplior: quia numidę (ſi cuti pleriq; faciunt) i noua deditione officia intẽderant:

Cæterum milites pro religione pluuia magis vſi Eaq; res multum animis eorum addidit.

Nam rati ſunt ſeſe diſs immortalibus curæ eſſe.

Deinde poſtero die cõtra opinionem Iugurthæ ad Thalam pueniunt. Oppidani qui ſe locorũ aſperitate munitos credidérãt magna atq; inſolita repculſi: nihilo ſegnius bellum parare: idem nĩ facere.

he coude get and them laded with empty veſſels of euery ſoꝛt. Many of them were trene veſſell which he had done to be gathered among the vyllages of the numidyans. Farthermoꝛe he cõmaunded thinhabytantes of thoſe marcheſſe which after the flyght of Jugurth had yelded them to Metellus that they ſhulde make them redy to folowe the hooſt euery man with as moche water as they myght beare. And aſſigned them a day and place/ where they ſhulde be redy vnder payne of dethe. Whan Metellus was come to the ſayd flodde which was fyftie myle from the towne of Thala and nereſt water therto as I haue ſayd befoꝛe: he dyd all the beeſtes to be laded of the ſame water. And ſo went toꝛwarde Thala/ his hooſt ſet in oꝛder and aray: ſo that yf any ieopardy apered he was euer redy at defẽce/ but afterward whan he was come to that place where he had apoynted the numidyans to mete hym with the water wherwith they were laded and folowed the hooſt. And whan his tentes were pytched/ ſette/ and defended about with trenches: cutte trees/ bowes/ and ſtakes after ỹ polycie of warre: ſodenly from the heuen dyſcended great vyolence and plenty of rayne water that is moꝛe than ſufficyent to all the army aſwell to men as beeſtes. Moꝛeouer their vytels were moꝛe plẽtyfull than they truſted oꝛ lokedde after. Foꝛ the numydians which newly were yelded were ſomoche the moꝛe ſeruyſable/ and redy to myniſtre euery thynge neceſſary vnto the army. And no maruell: foꝛ euery thyng is quycke at the begynnyng which often fadeth at the ende. But the ſoudiours and men of warre: were moꝛe gladde to ocupy the rayne water foꝛ deuocyon/ than ſuche water which was bꝛought vnto them in veſſels by carpage. Foꝛ they ſuppoſed: that their goddes loued and fauoured them which in ſo dꝛie a contrey/ and in ſuche a chaũce ſent to them ſo great plenty of water beſyde pꝛouiſyon of their captayne. This thyng greatly conforted the myndes of them all: and incouraged them with boldneſſe/ ſtrength/ & dilygence: to ouercome all dyfficulties which remaynedde. This confoꝛt kyndlyng their myndes: they ſpedde themſelfe ſo foꝛwarde that on the next day after they came vnto ỹ towne of Thala: cõtrary vnto the opynion oꝛ knoledge of Jugurth. Thinhabytantes which thought themſelfe ſurely defẽded by the ſharpneſſe and dyfficultie of the place/ were ſodenly abaſhed & aſtonyed foꝛ that great vnwont and vnpꝛoupded caſe. Neuertheleſſe they made pꝛouyſion to batayle as quickely as they might by ſufferaunce of the tyme. The romayns addꝛeſſed them

led them in the same maner. But the kyng Jugurth anone cast in his mynde that to Metellus was nothyng vnprouyded doo nor vnwar to be done: as he that by his craft/ diligence/ and polycie had ouercome both wepen/ armour/ place/ and tyme. And also nature itselfe which ruleth other thynges longynge vnto men. Jugurth this aduysing and reuoluing in his mynde fledde preuely by night forth of the towne with his children and a great part of his treasour. Nor after this tyme he neuer tarped in one place past the space of a day or of one nyght fayenyng that he fledde so fro one place to an other bycause of his present besynesse: but the right cause of his remouynge was for that he feared treason which he thought best to auoyd and eschue by contynuall changyng of places. For suche counsels of treason can nat be taken without deliberation and processe of tyme/ and conuenyens or opportunyte of places where purposes bothe long soroubus and contynue.

But whan Metellus sawe that thinhabytantes were redy to bataple and also that the towne was strongly defended bothe by craft of mannes handes and by reason of the place. Anone he compaseth about the towne one euery syde with profounde dyches/ trenches/ and berdels: of sharpe stakes the poyntes bywarde to thentent that none of thinhabytantes shulde haue out no escape by night/ as Jugurth had done before: and that no vytels shulde be conuayed in to them/ wherby they might the lenger resyst agayns hym and indure the syege. Afterwarde he commaunded scaffoldes to be made about the walles specially into suche places as were most conuenyent: and pentyses of shelues conioyned in maner of bynes to be driuen to the walles vpon wheles. And aboue these sayd scaffoldes to be cast a hepe of grauell and stones: and toures of tymbre & bulwarkes set vpon them: and other soudyours be assigned to defende the warke/ and them also that laboured therupon. These scaffoldes/ pentyses/ and pauases: were made to thentent that vnder them the romayns might vndermyne the walles with out great parill or damage. On the other syde/ the garysons and inhabytantes hastely laboured to resyst the romayns and to defende thselfe and their towne manfully. So that on both parties was nothing forgoten which was able to be done towarde their defence. But brefely to speke the romayns wery ed with moche labour and batayle. xl. dayes after they were come thyder: at last wanne the towne. But all the pray and ryches of the towne was distroyed by the which were within the towne

Sed rex nihil iam infectũ Metello credens quippe qui omnia tela: et arma: locos: tempora: denique naturam ipsa ceteris imperitante industria vicerat: cũ liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit. Neq; postea vllo in loco amplius vna die aut vna nocte moratus simulabat se negotij gratia properare. Cæterum proditionem timebat quam vitare posse celeritate putabat. Nam talia consilia solent per otium ex opportunitate capi.

At Metellus vbi oppidanos prælio intẽtos simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt: vallo fossaq; mœnia circumuenit.

Deinde iubet duobus locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere: supraq; eas aggerem iacere: et sup aggerẽ impositis turribꝰ opus et administros tutari.

Contra hæc oppidani festinare: parare: prorsus ab vtrisq; nihil reliquũ fieri: denique romani multo ante labore præliisq; fatigati post dies quadraginta quã eo ventũ erat: oppido modo potiti.

Præda omnis a perfugis

corrupts est.

Hi postq̃ murũ arietibus
feriri: resq; suas afflictas
vident: aurum atq; argẽ-
tũ et alia quæ prima di-
cuntur domũ regiam cõ-
portãt: ibiq; vino et epu-
lis grauati illaq; et do-
mum & semet igni corrũ
punt:

Et quas victi ab hostibus
pœnas metuerant eas i-
nsi volentes pendere.

in garnyson of the romayns/ whiche had fledde frõ Metellus to Jugurth: which specially had assigned them to defende the towne. These traytours whan they sawe the walles vndermi-
ned and brused with dyuerse ingens of batayle: and their fo-
tune was brought to extremyte: and no socours nor hope re-
maynedde. Than they assembled and caryed togyder all the tresour and riches of the towne/ as golde/ syluer/ with other precious ornamentes or iewels into the palays of Jugurth/ & there fylled themselfe with wyne and other delycate meates. And at cõclusion whan they were full saturate and ingorged: they sette fyre on the palays and wylfully brent and distroyed the richesse/ the palays: and themselfe withall. So that suche punyllyement as they owed to suffre of their ennemies they voluntarily suffredde the same with their owne handes to a-
uoyde the subiectyon and daunger of their ennemies: by de-
sperate folly and presumptuous madnesse.

## ¶ How Metellus fortified the cite of Leptis and at request of the embassadours of the same cytie sende thyder garnyson to defende the cyte agaynst Jugurth: and of the sytuacion of the same cyte & behauour of thi habytant therof. The. xlv. cha.

¶ Sed pariter cum capta
Thala legati ex oppido
Lepti ad Metellum vene
rant: orãtes vti præsidiũ
præfectumq; eo mitteret:

AT the same tyme whan Thala was wonne of the romayns/ embassadours cãe frõ a towne of numidy named Leptis vn-
to Metellus/ requiryng hym to send thy-
der socours of garnyson and a cappytayne to defend them from the oppression & inju-
ry of a certayne noble and debatefull man which was within that cyte named Jmpichar which (as they sayd) cõtynually laboured for newe chang; excityng and mo-
uyng the cõmen people to forsake the romayns agayne. Jn so moch that agaynst the sayd Jmpichar no man was able to re-
syst nor to preuayle: for he set nought by cõmaũdemẽt of their officers and rulers/ nor yet by the auncient lawes of their cyte At cõclusion these imbassadours sayd to Metellus for a sure-
te that except he graũted their petycion ỹ both their owne hel-
the/ and also the frẽdes and louers of thempyre which were ỹ in that cite shuld be in great danger and parryll. ¶ These Le-
ptitans at begynning of this warr of Jugurth required frẽd

Amilcharem quẽdam ho
minem nobilem factiosũ
nouis rebꝰ studere aduer
sum quem neq; imperia
magistratũ neq; leges va
lerent: ni id festinaret i
summo periculo suam sa
lutẽ et illoꝝ socios foret:

Nã leptitani iam inde a
pricipio belli Iugurthi-

shyppe

shyppe with the romayns of Calphurnius of whom is made mẽcion in begynning of this hystozie. And after ꝑ they sende to Rome vnto all the senatours requirynge the same ampte & peace of them: which thyng was graũted to thẽ gladly. Ther foze from thens forth they euer cõtynued good and faithfull to the romayns: and wozthely & substancially dyde euery thyng which was cõmaunded vnto them by Calphurnius/ by Albynus/oz by Metellus. Foz this consyderation they lightly obtayned all their desyze of Metellus/ which at their requeste sẽt forth with them vnto the sayd towne of Leptis: four cohoztes of lombardes chosen out of all his army with whome he sent to be captayne ouer them a noble knyght of his army named Caius Annius/ whom he also assigned to be lyeutenant of ꝑ towne. ¶ This towne of Lept3 was bylded first of all by the Sidonians which (as we rede) fledde from their owne contrey foz dyscozde and barpance which fell among their cyties at home. Which Sidonyans came in shyppes into these coostes of Affrike: where at last they bylded this cyte of Leptes/ which is situate bytwene two quicksandes of whom the cyte hath his name. ¶ Foz about thertreme part3 of Affrike be. ii. bzeekes of the see nere togyder nat lyke of quãtie: but lyke of nature. Of which two bzeekes those part3 which be nerest vnto the lande ar very pzofounde and depe with hye bankes of sande on euery syde. But the other places natte nere vnto the lande be somtyme depe: somtyme shalowe after the dysposycion of the wether. Foz whan the see begynneth in ragyng to be great and tempestyous by mouyng of the wynde than the wawes of the see dzaweth forth of the same places the slyme/ grauell/ and great stones: which in cawme wether were gathared togyder befoze in the same places. And thus the facyon/aspect/and regarde of the same places is mutable and chãged at euery tempest and great wynde.

¶ The langage of the cite of Leptis is nowe chaunged from the langage of Sydoni into numidyan langag by maryag3 of the numidyans. But their lawes/ their apparell/ and maners (foz the mooste part) styll foloweth ꝑ custome of sydoni/ which they mẽtayned & kept styll: somoch the moze easely: by cause they dwelled seperat in the extreme and vtter partes of the countrey farre from the court & frequentation of kynges of numidy. Foz bytwene this cyte of Leptis and the well inhabyted partes of numidy be many places desert and wyde wyldernesses vnhabyted foz dzienes of the contrey.

ni ad bestiam consulem: et postea romam miserãt amicitiã societatẽq; rogatũ. Deide vbi ea impetrata fuere semp boni fidelesq; manere: etcũcta a Bestia Albino Metello q; impata gnauiter fecerãt Itaq; ab impatore facile quę petebant adepti sunt. Emissæ sunt eo cohortes. Ligurum. iiii. et Caius Annius præfect9.

Id oppidũ a sydonijs cõditum est/quos accepim9 profugos ob discordias ciuiles nauibus in eos locos venisse. Cæterum sitũ inter duas Syrtes quibus nomen ex re inditũ. Nam duo sunt sin9 prope in extrema Aphrica ĩ pares magnitudine: pares natura: quorum loca proxima terre palta sũt Cætera vti sors tulit alta alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam vbi mare magnum esse sæuire ventis cœpit: limum arenãq; et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt ita facies locorum cum vẽtis simul mutat.

Igitur eius ciuitatis lingua modo conuersa connubio numidarum leges cultusq; pleraq; Sydonica: quæ eo facilius retinebant: q; procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebãt. Inter illos et frequẽtem numidiam multi vastiq; loci sunt.

## ¶ The dyscripcion of that place of Affrike which is named the phylen auters: and for what cause the sãe place was first so named. The.xlvi.chap.

¶ Sed quoniã in has regiones p Leptitanorum negotia venimus non indignũ videtur egregium atq; mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginẽsiũ memorare. Eam rem dicere locus admonuit:

BUt for almoche as by occasyon of this besynes of the cyte of Leptis and their embassodours/ I haue made mencyon of their cyte and partly discrybed the sytuacion of ꝑ same. Nowe me thynketh it thing conuenyent/ and nat vnworthy to recoũt an excellent and meruaylous dede done in the same coostes by two brethern borne of the cyte of Carthage and namely bycause the place is called the Phylene auters me thynketh it requisyte to declare the cause of that denomynation. For this place of our hystorie so requireth.

Qua tẽpestate carthaginẽses plereq; Aphrice imperitabant Cirenẽses quoq; magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus vna specieneq; flumen neq; mons erat qui fines eorũ discerneret. Quæ res eos i magno diuturnoq; bello iter se habuit. Postq̃ vtrimq; legiones. Item classes sæpe fusæ fugataq; & alteri alteros aliq̃tulũ attriuerãt veriti ne mox victos victoresq; defessos ali⁹ aggrediretur p insidias spõsionem faciunt vti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur: et quo in loco inter se obuij fuissent: is cõis vtriusq; populi finis haberetur.

¶ What tyme the Carthaginẽses had in possession and were lordes ouer the mooste part of Affrike: at the same season the Cyrenenses also were great and famous of name: and abundant of welth and richesse. Than bytwene the coostes of thes two cyties was a great and large felde all ouerspredde with sande without deuysion/ pticyon/ or dyfference. But bytwen thẽ was neyther flodde nor moũtayne/ which might discerne the bondes and marchies of bothe their coostes: which thing causeth cõtynuall and long warre often and great batayls bytwene both the parties. But after that many armies on both sydes were ouercome/ slayne/ or put to flight bothe by lande & by see. And whan both peoples had somwhat wasted the one the other by spoyling and murdre: than began they to pceyue their owne folly on both partes feryng lest some other natyon anon after shulde assayle thẽ both the ouercomers & them that were ouercome whan they were wasted and werped with batayls and brought to extremite. Wherfore this cõsydred: they toke trus bytwene them both and to auoyed that long variance which had ben bytwene them: they made agrement and couenant that messangers or embassadours of bothe parties shulde depart out of their cyties at a certayne day and houre assigned. And that same place where the messangers of both the cyties shulde mete togyder: shulde be for euer after taken for the boundes and marchesse of the countrey/ of both the natyons and cyties without more contencyon or varyance. To bringe this apoyntment to effect and conclusyon forth of the

Igitur Carthaginæ duo fratres missi quibus nomen

cyte of

cyte of Cyren were chosen two for their part and sende forthe at the day and hour apoynted. And in lykewyse out of Carthage were sende two brethern/ eche of them named Phylene which swiftly sped thē in their iourney. But the Cyrenēses wēt moche more slowly whether it so fortuned by negligence or chaūce I knowe but lytell the trueth. But this is knowen for certayne that about those coostes tempest of wynde and weder is wont to let men and prolong their iournay in likewyse as vpon the see: and that for this cause. For whan by those euyn places wyde/ and bare without any thing growynge on thē: the wynde ryseth & styreth ꝑ small sande frō the ground: ꝑ same sande moued by great vyolence of the wynde is wont to fyll the faces/ mouthes/ and eyen of which passeth that way with dust and sande. And thus often by lettyng of their sight: their iournay is prolonged and hyndred. But after whan the Cyrenēses sawe thēselfe somwhat ouerslowe and late in their iournay: they fered punysshmēt at their retournyng home for their negligence. And blamyng they accused the Carthagynēses obiectyng and sayeng that they had come forth of their cyte before the tyme assigned: and thus they troubled all the mater and brake the ordynance. But shortly to speke these Cirenenses concluded rather to suffre deth and to do any thyng possyble than to retourne home agayn ouercome. Wherfore the carthagynenses desyred some other condycion or apoyntment to be made indyfferent and equall bytwene both ꝑ parties. The cyrenenses consented therto and put the carthagynēses in choyse whyther they wolde be quicke buryed in that same place which they desyred for their marches & boundes: or els ꝑ the cyrenenses vnder the same cōdycion shulde ꝓcede forwarde to that place which they desyred for their marches and they to be quicke buryed vnder the same manet. The .ii. brethern both named Phylene alowed and graūted the cōdycion subduyng & abandonyng their bodyes to deth for ꝑ profet & wele of their contrey and cyte of Carthage: and so were they buried quicke. Wherfore ꝑ carthaginēses in ꝑ same place where they were buryed rayled & halowed .ii. auters ī worshyp & remēbrance of these two brethern which set more by encrese of their contrey: thā by their owne lyues. These auters to this ꝓsēt day be called ꝑ Phylen auts after ꝑ name of the .ii. brethern named phylenis therunder buried/ as said is for wele of their contrey. also besyde this memoriall wōn ꝑ cite of Carth. wer many other thigs ordayned to ꝑ gret honor of thē

men Philenis erat: maturauere iter pergere.

Cirenēses tardius ire: id secordia ne an casu accideret parum cognoui. Cæterum solet in his locis tēpus haud secus atq; in mari retinere hoies. Nam ibi ꝑ loca æqualia et nuda gignentiū vent⁹ coortus arenā humo excitauit: ea magna vi agitata ora oculosq; implere solet. Ita ꝑdito prospectu morari iter. Postq; cirenenses aliquāto posteriores se esse vident et ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuunt crimināri. Carthaginenses ante tēpus digressos cōturbare rēpub. Deniq; oia male q; victi abire. Sed cum pœni aliā cōditionē tantūmodo æquā peterent. Cirenēses optionē Carthaginensib⁹ faciunt vt vel illi quos fines populo suo quærerēt ibi viui obruerētur. Vel eadē cōditione sese quē in locū vellēt processuros dimitterēt. Philenī cōditione probata seq; vitāq; suam reipu. cōdonauere: ita vi ui obruti sunt. Carthaginēses ī eo loco Philenis fratrib⁹ aras cōsceraue re: aliisq; illis honores domi institutī.

Nunc ad rem radeo.

and remembrance of their worthy dede. ¶But nowe wyll I leaue this mater and retourne to my purpose.

## ¶How Jugurth assembled a newe army of the rude getulyans agaynst the romayns: and how he associatd vnto hym Bocchus kīg of the mauryens to strength hym in batayle agaynst Metellus. ¶The.xlvii.chapyter.

¶Iugurtha postq̄ amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellū putat per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectꝰ peruenit ad getulos: genus hoim ferum iucultū q; et eo tēpore iguarū nominis romani eorū multitudinem in vnum coegit ac paulatim cōsue facit ordines habere: signa sequi: imperiū obseruare Itē alia militaria facere

¶Than Jugurth had lost the cytie of Thala/ one of the strōgest cyties of his lande (as sayd is before) than he cōsydred well that in all his kyngdome was no place stronge ynough to resyst the might of Metellus. Wherfore he hasted hym w̄ a small cōpany through desertes and great wyldernesses fleyng from his owne countrey. And at last he came to the lande of Getulyans which is a maner of people rude wylde/ and w̄out order or maners: and at that season nought knowyng of the preemynēt honour and fame of the romayne empyre. Of this people Jugurth assembled a multitude togyder and by lytell and lytell enduced and taught them by custome and exercyse to folowe the order of chyualry: to kepe array/ to insue their standerdes/ to obey the cōmaundementes of their cappytayns/ to dyscerne and haue knowlege of the signyfiaunce of soundes of trumpettes: and to obserue all other poyntes belōgyng to warfare and chyualry. These thyngs with otherlyke necessary to batayle/ Jugurth ceassed nat to prepare and ordayn with all dilygence. ¶Moreouer he prouoked vnto his fauour & felashyp by great rewardes and moch gretter promises suche as were mooste nere frendes to Bocchus kyng of the maurȳens: by whose helpe he hymselfe went to the kyng Bocchus. And moche desyredde hym in his quarell with hym to warre agaynst ꝑ romayns. To this requeste of Jugurth Bocchus agreed somoch ꝑ more for almoch as at first begynnyng of the same warre: this Bocchus sent vnto Rome embassadours to desyre of the romayns ampyte and a bonde of cōtynuall peace betwene hym and them. But nat withstādyng that this peticyon & peace was moche expedyēt and necessary to ꝑ romayns for dyuerse cōsideratyons & namely bycause of this warre. Nat the lesse it was nat graūted by mean of a fewe such as at Rome blynded w̄ auarice: were wont to sell for money

Præterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus et maioribus promissis ad studium sui pellicit: quis adiutoribꝰ regem aggressus impellit vti aduersꝰ romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusq; fuit q; Boccus ininitio huiusce belli legatos romā miserat: fœdus et amicitiam petitum. Quā rem opportunissimā incepto bello pauci ipediuerāt. cęci auaritia quis oia honestat atq; inhonesta vēdere mos erat.

euery

euery thyng both honeſt and dyſhoneſt. Alſo before this tyme the doughter of Jugurth was ſpouſed to the ſayed Bocchus. But this bonde of freendſhyppe or affinite amonge the numidyans/ and maurytens: is reputed but of a ſmall valour or effect: bycauſe they ar wont euery man to haue dyuerſe and many wyues accordyng to their ſubſtance and richeſſe. Some .x. and ſome mo: after as they ar of abylite or power to mētayne. But the kynges bycauſe they ar of mooſt power and ſubſtance: therfore haue they mo thāne an other. Thus is their mynde and fauoure dyſtract and dyuerſly deuyded from all their wyues for the multytude of thē: and bycauſe they haue ſo many ſo that they reſerue none for their ſpeciall bedfelawe. Wherfore they all ar reputed vyle/ and lytell ſette by: after one maner. Thus ỳ affinite bytwene theſe two kynges Jugurth and Bocchus/ was lytell ſette by and ſmall thyng auayled in this beſyneſſe. Nat withſtādyng bothe they and their hooſtes cāe togyder in a place apoynted therto: where after that they had gyuen and taken fayth and trueth one to an other of fydelite/ to be obſerued bytwene them. Jugurth greatly inamiced and lyfted vp the mynde of Bocchus with his wordes ſayeng that the romayns were in uull grounded in auaryce without ſuffiſance or meaſure. And cōmen enemyes to euery mā and to euery contrey: and that they had almoche quarell agaynſt Bocchus/ as agaynſt hym. And one ſelfe cauſe to warre agaynſt them bothe. And alſo agaynſt many other natyons whiche cauſe was but onely the pleaſure of great lordſhyppe and ryches. So that for the ſame cauſe all kyngdoms to thē were aduerſ and cōtrary/ and that he hymſelfe to thē was enmemy for the ſame cauſe. And nat long before that tyme the Carthaginēſes: and afterwarde Perſes kyng of Macedony were ſubdued and vndone by the romayns wout any iuſt tytle or cauſe of batayle: ſaue onely ambytion and enuy which ỳ romayns had agaynſt thē. And that in tyme to come euery natyon whiche ſhulde haue welth and richeſſe ſhulde become enmemyes to the romayns for their inordynat pryde/ & inſatiable couetyſe.

¶ With theſe wordes and other lyke Jugurth moued ỳ mynde of Bocchus agaynſt the romayns. In ſomoch that anone a day was apoynted bytwene bothe the kyngs to procede forth togyder to the towne of Cyrtha/ and to aſſayle the ſame with both their powers conioynedde. This towne they purpoſed firſt of all to beſige: bycauſe Metellus had left within ỳ ſame towne his prayes & priſoners which he had take of Jugurth.

Etiam antea Iugurthæ filia Boccho nupſerat. Verum ea neceſſitudo apud numidas maurosq; leuis ducitur: q̄ ſinguli pro opibus quiſq; q̄ plurimas vxores: alii denas alii plures habeāt. Sed reges eo amplius ita animis multitudine diſtrahitur: nullam pro ſocia obtinet: pariter oēs viles ſunt.

Igit in locum ambobus placitum exercitus cōueniunt ibi fide data & accepta Iugurth Bocchi animum oratione accendit: romanos iniuſtos pro fūda auaritia: cōmunes oīm hoſtes eē eande cauſam illos belli habere cū Boccho quā ſecum et cū aliis gētibus: libidinem imperandi.

Quis oīa regna aduerſa ſunt tum ſeſe: ante paulo carthaginēſes. ita tegē Perſen poſtremo quiſq; opulentiſſimus videatur: ita romanis hoſtē fore.

His atq; aliis talibus ad Cirtham oppidum eō ſtitutunt q̄ ibi. Quintus Metellus prædam captiuosq; et impedimenta locauerat.

And also moche of his owne ordynaunce had he left there to a voyde impedyment in his voyage. Thus Jugurth thought it mooste expedyent to do. For if he myght wynne the towne by assaut before ye retcous of Metellus: he thought that shuld be mooste to his honoure and profette. Or els yt the romayne captayne Metellus / and his army shulde come to socoure of the towne: than thought he that there both hymselfe and Bocchus shuld gyue batayle to Metellus. Jugurth for craft and subtylte hasted hereto so moch the more to tangle Bocchus in the warre before any peace shulde be moeuede betwene hym and the romayns. And lest the same Bocchus by prolongyng of the tyme myght rather enclyne to peace than to warre after he at leasour shuld haue taken better counsell and aduysmet. For Jugurth suspected at beginnynge that Metellus in prosecucion of tyme wold betyde thus Bocchus hat to medyll in this warre / alleggyng the ryght of Jugurth nor mentaynyng his cause.

Ita Iugurtha ratus aut capta vrbe operæpretiũ fore aut si romanus dux auxilio suis venisset prælio sese certaturos.

Nã callidus id modo festinabat. Bocchi pacem i minuere ne moras agitãdo alliud q̃ bellũ mallet

## ¶ Howe Metellus vsed hymselfe beynge that these two kynges were confederat agaynst hym and how after he was certifyed that the prouynce of Numidy was assigned to Marius the new consull: he reasted the warre for the nones.

## ¶ The.xlviii.chapyter.

¶ Imperator postq̃ de regum societate cognouit non temere retneq vti sæpe iam victo Iugurtha consueuerat: oĩbus locis pugnandi copiam facit. Cæterum haud procul a Cirtha castris munit; reges opperitur; melius eẽ ratus cognitis Marius. (quodĩ is nouus hostis accesserat) ex commodo pugnam facere.

Interim Roma per literas certior fuit Mario prouinciã numidã datã.

Whanne Metellus knewe that the two kynges were allcopate togyder: he thought nat to fyght with them all holy without prouysyon: nor in euery place for his aduantage or nat as he was wont to do oftentymes before after the first tyme that he had ouercome Jugurthe. But within his felde well and surely defended he kept hymselfe abydinge the commynge of the two kynges: and that nat farre from the towne of Cyrtha. This dyd he thynking it best to knowe the myght maners / & condycions of the mauryens first or he wolde fight with the / bycause they were but newe enemies and therfore their maners vnknowen to hym. And whan he sawe his best auantage than thought he to gyue them batayle.

¶ In the meane tyme whyle Metellus tarryed the commyng of the two kynges: letters were brought vnto hym from Rome: which certyfied hym that the prouynce of Numidy / was

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cõmitted and gyuen to Marius the newe consull. For he had harde long before this tyme that the sayd Marius was creat cõsull: but this was the first tyme ꝑ he vnderstode the prouice of Numidy cõmytted to hym. For this cause was Metellus mouedde and dysplesed moche more than longed to measure honestly. In somoche ꝑ he coude neyther refrayne his eyen from weppyng nor measure his tong from spekyng yll by Marius. This Metellus was a synguler noble and worthy man in all other condycions: but the dysplesure of his mynde he toke ouer womãly and tẽderly to his hert/and namely in this cause. Which condycion: some reputed to procede of a proude hert of Metellus. And other some thought it no meruayle though his noble hert were moued and kyndled with anger/ for this iniury and wrong done to hym. And many sayd that Metellus toke so great sorowe and dysplesure: bycause the victorie which he had almoost obtayned shulde be pulled out of his handes his selfe hauyng the labour and paryll. And an other man the tryumphe and honour. But to be playne in the mater and indyfferẽtly to write: it was nat vnknowen to the wysest romayns/ but that the dygnite/auauncement/and honour of Marius greued Metellus: moch more than dyd his owne iniury. And that he wolde nat haue taken it so heuely if the prouynce of Numidy which was takẽ from hym had ben gyuen to any other noble men thã to Marius. Wherfore Metellus was let from his first beyneslle for the sayd dysplesure so that he purposed nat to vexe hymselfe from thens forth without thanke or profette. And also he thought it folly to take in hande the charge of an other mannes mater to his owne paryll/ labour/ and payne. Wherfore he sende messangers to the kyng Bocchus/ desyring hym nat to become ennemy to ꝓ romayns without occasion. And sayeng that he was as yet in suche case that he myght adioyne with the romayns felawshyp loue/ and amyte: which shulde be moche better to hym & more profytable than bataple. And howbeit he trusted gretly in his power/richesse/and treasour: yet ought he nat to change certayne thynges/ for thynges incertayne. For euery bataple to begyn is ealy and lyght: but it is a very harde thyng to ende the same whan it is ones begon. The begynning and endynge therof: is nat alway in the power of one same man. For bataple may be/ begon of a cowarde or of any other wretch: but it can nat be left of agayne/nor ceassed but whã it pleaseth him which is strongest/ and is maister hauyng the vpper hande.

Nam cõsulem factum iã antea accepat quibus rebus supra ac honestũ perculsus: neq; lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam vt egregius in aliꝭ artib⁹ nimis molliter ægritudinem pati.

Quam rem aliꝭ in superbiam vertebant: aliꝭ bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse.

Multi q̃ iã parta victoria ex manibus eriperet. Nobis satis cognitũ est illum magis honore Mariꝭ q̃ iniuria sua excruciatum: neq; tam anxie laturum fuisse si adempta prouincia aliꝭ q̃ Mario traderetur. Igitur eo dolore ipeditus et quia stulticiæ videbatur alienam rem suo periculo curare: legatos ad Bocchum misit postulatũ: ne sine causa hostis populi romani fieret: habere tũ magnã copiam societatis amicitiæq; coniungendæ: quæ potior bello esset: q̃q̃ opibus suis confideret tamẽ non debere certa proicertis mutare. Omne bellũ sumi facile: cęterũ ægerrime desinere: non ineiusdem potestate initium eius ac finem esse: incipere: cuiuis etiam ignauo licere deponi autem cũ victores velint.

Proinde sibiq; regno consuleret: neu florentes tes suas cum Iugurthæ perditis misceret.

Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: sese pacē cupere. Sed Iugurthæ fortunarum misereri. Si eadē illi copia fieret omnia conuentura.

Rursus imperator cōtra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit: ille probare ptim alia obnuere.

Eo modo sæpe ab vtroq; missis remissisq; nuntijs tempus procedere: et ex Metelli voluntate bellū intactum trahi.

And finally he badde hym better to prouyde for hymselfe and for his kyngdome than he beganne to do: and nat to adioyne nor mynge his goodes/ treasour/ and fortune: which were in estate royall florisshyng with the goodes and fortune of Jugurth: which were lost and dystroyed to the vttermoost. The imbassadours of Metellus came to kynge Bocchus and shewed hym their cappytayns wyll: as is sayd before vnder suche sentence. To the which wordes of Metellus/ Bocchus answered agayne benignely and mekely ynough sayng that he desyred nothyng more than peace: saue that he had pyte and cōpassyon of the aduers and myserable fortune of Jugurth/ but yf the same Jugurth myght be suffred also to haue frendshyp and ampyte with the romayns & forgyuenesse: than sayd Bocchus that he wolde gladly agre to euery thynge desyredde of Metellus/ and euery thyng shulde be acorded betwene them. The captayne Metellus heryng this answere of Bocchus: agayne sent messangers to hym replyeng agaynst his requestes and sayeng that some of his petycions were agaynst iustyce and reason: also Metellus by these embassadours desyredde many other thynges of Bocchus/ of whom Bocchus graunted and alowed some: and other some of them he denyed. After this maner the tyme ouerpassedde and proceded forth/ messangers often goynge and comynge betwene them bothe: so that by suche maner the warre and batayle remayned vntouched and depended nat medled with: as Metellus dyd greatly coueyt and desyre in mynde bycause he wolde kepe sure that laude which he had goten & wonne: and also for that to his owne payll and dāmage he wolde nat auantage nor auance Marius: in thyng which to hym belonged.

But here wyll I leaue to speke of Metellus/ and retourne to speke of Marius which cōtrary to the wyll of all the noble men of Rome was creat cōsull by fauour of the cōmens: lykewyse as I haue written before.

## Of the great ordynaunce and preparatyon which Marius the newe cōsull made agaynst Jugurth/ and for the warre of Numidy. The.xlix. chapter.

BUt Marius (as I haue sayd before) was create consull/ at synguler desyre and instaunce of the cõmen people: which also cõmytted to hym the prouynce of numidy. Marius seyng hiselfe thus auanced: where he was euer agaynst ỹ noble men of Rome before. Nowe was he spectally fiers of mynde/and stately. And besy to dysplease and hurt the estates: some tyme one by one/and other whyle altogyder. He often tymes boosted and sayd that he had goten the consulshyppe of them maugre their wyll/ as if it were a pray or spoyling goten of his ennemies: and of men ouercome. Many other boostyng wordes spake he to his owne cõmendation/ and to great dysplesure and anger vnto these estates of Rome. But in the meane space he forgat nat to prepare euery thing necessary to the warre: wherof the charge rested on hym to execute ỹ same agaynst Jugurth from thens forth. He demaunded of the senatours and cõmens newe supplemẽt of soudyours to repay and restore the army which was in numidy with Metellus. For many of them were slayne/and many deed of sickenesse: thus was ỹ army sore deminisshed. He called also for socours of suche nations as marched to thẽpyre. And of kynges whiche were cõfederate and had cõtoyned felawshyppe with the romayns. Moreouer he rayled vp in Italy and nere about Rome/as many as were strongest and boldest mẽnes bodyes. And namely such as he hymselfe had proued before in warre: and such as in warfare were proued by dedes: and nat suche as were boosted by fame. And namely olde soudyours which had long hauuted the warre and were pardoned therof. So that it was in the power of no man to cõstrayn them to warre without their owne fre assent: bycause that they had cõtynued styll in batayle the season to thẽ assigned of their captayns These treated Marius with so fayre flatteryng and paynted wordes/that they were redy to go with hym in warfare. And howbeit that the senatours were contrary to hym: yet durst they nothyng deny vnto hym belongyng to his besynesse: but gladly and with good wyll they decreed that he shulde rayle and chuse soudyours to fulfyll the nombre of them which were lost in batayle in the contrey of numidy. But this dyde they for no gret loue which they had to Martus: for they thought that he shuld lese outher the execution of the batayle which he intended with Jugurth: or els the fauour of the people which wolde refuse to go forth to warre. So that if Martus cõstray



¶ At Marius (vt supra diximus) cupientissima plebe consul factus postq̃ ei prouinciam Numidiam populus iussit antea iam infestus nobilitati: tũ vero multus et ferox instare modo singulos: modo vniuersos ledere. Dictitare sese consulatũ ex victis quasi illis spolia cœpisse: alia pretea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim q̃ bello opus erant prima habere: postulare legionibus supplimentum: auxalia a populis et regibus socisq̃ accersere.

Præterea ex latio fortissimũ quemq̃ plerosq̃ militia paucos fama cognitos accire: et ambiendo cogere hoies emeritis stipendijs proficisci: neque illi senatus q̃q̃ aduersus erat: de vllo negotio abnuere audebat.

Cæterum supplementum etiam lætus decreuerat quia neq̃ plebe militiam volente putabatur Marius: aut belli vsum aut studia vulgi amissurus.

ned them: their olde loue might turne into newe malyce and hatered de agaynst hym. But this thyng was trusted but in vayne of the senatours: for the mooste part of the cõmens had an inestymable delyre to go to batayle with Marius. For euery man cast in his mynde to be inryched by prayes & spoylynges of warre. And that more is: to retourne home agayn victours with moche honour and tryumphe. These thyngs and otherlyke: they consydred in their myndes which caused them gladly to folowe Marius/ and also Marius dyd nat a lytell enbolde and confort their myndes with his exhortacyon. For whan euery thyng which he desyred of the senatours was confermed and decreed by them. And whanne Marius shulde assemble his soudyours: he thought to put them in cõfort by exhortacion/ and also to trouble and displease the estates of Rome as he was wont to do: and to chafe their myndes. Wherfore he assembled and called togyder a great company of the cõmen people/ and spake to them by exhortacion and confortyng of them: as hereafter ensueth.

Sed ea res frustra speratа: tanta libido cum Mario eundi plerosq; inuaserat: sese quisq; prædа locupletem fore: victorẽ domum redituru: alia huiuscemodi anni attrahebant: & eos non paululum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nã postq̃ oibus decretis quę postulauerat: milites scribere vult hortandi causam simul: et nobilitatem (vti consueuerat) exagitãdi concionem populi aduocauit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

## ¶The oryson or exhortacion of the consull Marius: had to the cõmen people of Rome before his voyage into Numidy/ which exhortacion is demonstratyue contaynynge the laude and prayes of Marius: and dysprayse and blames of the noble men of Rome. ¶The.I. chapyter.

¶Scio ego Quirites plerosq; non iisdem artibus imperium a vobis petere: et postq̃ adepti sũt gerere. Primo industrios/ supplices/ modicos esse: dehinc per ignauiam et superbiam etatem agere.

Sed mihi cõtra videtur. Namq̃ quo plutis vniuersa respu. est q̃ consularus aut preturа: maiore cura illam administrari q̃ hæc peti debere.

Right worthy cytezins I knowe well that many of these estates of auncyent name haue nat themselfe behaued after one maner of cõdycyon in desyryng of you honorable dygnities and great offices: and in admynistracyon and gouernyng of the after they haue obtayned the same of you. For whyle they make their petycyons: at begynninge they be dyligent seruyable/ meke: and curtayse of behauoure. But whan they haue obtayned their desyre: than passe they their tyme in slouth/ydelnes/and pryde. But it semeth to me in my myynde that they ought to do moche contrarely. For of howe moche more valour the hole cõmen wayle is: than is the cõsulshyp/ thoffice of the hy iudge/ or any other great office: with somoch

ſomoch moze dyligence and charge ſhulde ꝑ hole cõmen wele be gouerned/ than ſuche dygnities oz offices deſyzed of you. Noz I am nat ignozant but knowe right well how great the benefite is that ye haue gyuen to me: and how great charge and beſynelle therto belõgyng is layed vpon me withall: whi che beſynes I nedes muſt ſuſtayne. That is to ſay: to pzepare and make redy an armye/ withall other thynges neceſſary to batyale and to execute the ſame: & neuertheles to ſpare the cõmen treaſour. To compell to warfare and batayle: ſuch as a man wolde nat greue noz dyſpleaſe/ that is you the cõmentie of Rome: whome I wolde nat dyſpleaſe by any meanes. To take charge and care foz euery thyng within the cite and without. And to do ſuch thynges among enuyous gẽtylmen obiectyng and layeng agaynſt me in euery thynge which I go about/ as men full of dyſcozde and barrayance. Uerily noble cytezins among ſuch men to take in hande ſuche charges it is moze harde and thynge of moze dyfficultie/ thanne any man can thynke oz deuyſe. And mozeouer: as foz other conſuls which haue ben befoze my tyme/ whan they haue done a ny thyng amyſſe: thã their olde nobleneſſe/ the ſtrong and valyant actes of their ꝑdeceſſours/ ꝑ riches and power of their frendes and kynſmen: and their many clyentes and ſeruantꝫ of them retayned. All theſe haue ſuppozted and mentayned them in their myſdedes. But all my richeſſe and helpe/ and truſt of confozt which I haue/ is in my ſelfe & nat in my kynſmen noz other fauourers: which ayde of my ſelf I muſt of neceſſite defende with my vertue/ ſtrength: and innocence. Foz all other thynges which theſe auncient noble men haue to defende them be vnſure to me foz I haue thẽ nat. Farthermoze noble cytezins this I vnderſtãde that all ye haue good truſt and confydẽce in me: and that all ſuch as be equall/ iuſt/ and good: haue fauour vnto me. Foz I know well that my good dedes hath pzofited the commen wayle. And neuertheleſſe theſe noble men ſeke occaſyons agaynſt me/ inuadyng and aſſaylyng me with their malyce and enuy. Wherfoze it ſtãdeth me in hande of neceſſyte to labour ſomoche the moze beſely and quickely: that neyther ye be diſceyued in this great truſt whi che ye haue in me: & alſo that all the purpoſes of myne ylwyllers and aduerſares/ may be fruſtrate and nothyng auayle agaynſt me. Foꝛſoth I haue euer frõ my chyldhode vnto this age ben of ſuch behauour that I haue ben acuſtomed and exercyſed in all maner labour and paryls: which I ſuffred and

Neq; me fallit q̃tum cũ maximo veſtro beneficio negotij ſuſtineam. Bellũ parare ſimul et ærario p cere: cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offẽdere:

domi foriſq; omnia curare et ea agere inter inuidos occurſãtes factioſos opinione Quirites aſperius eſt.

Ad hoc alij ſi deliquere: vetus nobilitas: maiorũ fortia facta: cognatorũ et affinium opes: multæ clientelæ: omnia p̃ſidio adſunt.

Mihi ſpes omnes in memet ſitæ: quas neceſſe eſt et virtute et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma ſunt. Et illud intelligo Quirites omniũ ora i me conuerſa eſſe: æquos bonosq; fauere: quippe mea benefacta reipu. procedunt: nobilitatem inuadendi me quærere locum Quo mihi acri⁹ aditen dũ eſt: vti neq; vos capiamini: & illi fruſtrati ſit.

Ita ad hoc ætatis a puericia fui: vt omnes labores et pericula conſueta

habeam: quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuito facie bam: eã vti accepta mercede deseram non est consilium Quirites.

toke patiētly for the cōmen wele without any rewarde before this your benefyte and honour which ye haue nowe gyuen to me. Wherfore worthy cytezins seyng ỹ ye haue nowe rewarded me better than I am worthy: I haue nat purposed to desyst nor leue of: myne olde good wyll agaynst the cōmen wele: nor nowe I rewarded of you purpose nat to omyt my good dedes agaynst ỹ comen wele which I dyd frely before vnrewarded. But touchyng these auncient gētylmen: it is very harde for them to tempar themselfe beyng in power or dygnite whiche onely dyd but fayne themself good and honest before they obtayned promocyon/ to thintent to come therby to honoure and dygnite. But whey as I haue passed all my lyfe in right good occupatyons by contynuall custome it is roted in me to do well: and this custome is tourned with me into a nature. Trouth it is: that ye haue cōmaunded me to warre and do battayle with Jugurth: which thyng these noble men taketh very greuously. I require you cōsyder and dyscus in your myndes and in your inwarde consyderation/ ponder ye whyther it be better/ more necessary and expedyent to change the same your cōmaundemēt agayne: and to sende forth some other of that sort of auncyent gentylmen vnto this besynes with Jugurth or els to any other lyke. Send forth a noble man of old auncetry: in honour and remēbrance of whom many ymages may be made and erect or set vp on hy. But of polycie of chyualry or warfay is he vtterly ignorant and inexpert. Wyll ye change your purpose and sende forth suche one to warfare at pleasure of these gentylmen/ as who sayeth: that is best to be done for this cause. To thintent that in so great a mater and wighty besynesse: such a captayne more ignorant and ferefull than any of all his soudyours/ shalbe chosen of you which anone after shall chuse forth agayne some one of the cōmen peple to be his maister: to informe and tech hym in such besynes as to his offyce and charge belongeth hym selfe beyng ignorant of euery thyng necessary to be done. By this meane it often fortuneth: that he whom ye ordayne to be captayne and cōmaunder of your army: dothe chose an other to be captayne and cōmaunder ouer hymselfe. In somoch that (if ye indyfferently iudge) he: whom is chose for capitayne is moche more mete to be made a symple soudyour/ than a captayne ouer other. And also worthy cytezins: I knowe some of these noble men so farre out of order that whan they haue ben made consuls: than haue they gyuen themselfe to redyng of the actes of

Illis difficile est in potestatibus tempare: qui p ambitionem sese probos simulauere: mihi qui omnem ætatē in optimis artibus ægi: benefacere iã ex consuetudine in naturam conuertitur.

Bellum gerere me cũ Iugurtha iussistis quã rem nobilitas ægerrime tulit queso reputate cum animis vestris non id mutari melius sit: si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc negotium: aut ad aliud tale mittatis hominem veteris prosapiæ: ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendij: scilicet vt in tãta re ignarus omniũ trepidet: festinet: sumat aliquẽ ex pplo monitorẽ sui officij: ita plerũque euenit: vt quẽ vos impare iussistis: is sibi imperatorẽ alium quærat.

Atq; ego scio quirites q postq; cõsules facti sunt: acta maiorum et græcoꝝ

their

their elders and predecessours. And of the grekes preceptes of chyualrie: which doutlesse may well be called mē without order/ for this cōsyderation. For they shulde by due order first lerne to rule their office before they shulde take vpon them the charge therof. But they do contrary. First they take charge of office and than after lerne to rule it by way inordynate. how beit euery wyseman wyll first lerne to gouerne an office before he desyre it or take vpon him the rule therof. But these estates contrarily demeane themselfe. Thus worthy eyteyns cōpare me a newe gentylman with their immoderate pride and take dyligent consyderation which is best to be nat gentyll of byrth and lowly and gentyll of maners: or els to be gentyll of blode/ and proude and vngentyll of maners. Of suche thynges as they be wōt to here and to rede: some haue I sene/ and some I my selfe haue done. I haue lernedde that by exercyse of chyualrie/ which they haue lerned by redyng. Nowe iuge and consyder ye: whyther is better of dedes or warkes: of redyng and doyng. They dispyce my neweltie of honour and vnnoble lynage: and I dispyce the vncraftynesse and slouth of them. My happy fortune is obiected of them agaynst me as to rebuke: but shame and dyshonest behauour/ may be obiected and layed agaynst them in rebuke. Is nat trueth that euery man is come of one lyke nature. I cōsyder and knowe well that one man is nat better nor more noble than an other: but if it be by his wysdome/ good maners/ vertu/ & strength. And I consyder well that euery man the more that he is endued with vertue: the more excellent and noble is he. Thus is the strongest/ wysest/ and moost vertuous/ moost excellent in noblenesse. ¶ But yf the fathers of Albynus/ and of Calphurnius: late cōsuls and captayns in Numidy/ to the great dyshonoure and damage of this empyre/ were nowe lyueng that it myght be inquyred of them whether that they had leuer that I had bene begotten of them: or els the sayd Albynus & Calphurnius. What thynke ye they wolde answere. Forsoth nought els (as I suppose) but that they wolde desyre and couet good chyldren and honorable lynage to procede of their stocke and generation. Thus syth it is so: that these estates dispyseth me: reasonably and of ryght lette them also dispyce their owne predecessours and forefathers/ of whose stocke and lynage they proceded: which cāe to noblenes and honour: nat by their auōtry: but by their owne strength/ wysdome/ and vertue: likewyse as I haue done. They haue enuy at this

militaria præcepta legere cœperunt hoēs præposteri: nam gerere q̄ fieri tempore posterius reor atque vsu prius est.

Comparate nunc Quiritis cum illorum superbia me hominem nouum.

Quæ illi audire et legere solent eorum partem vidi: alia egomet gessi: q̄ illi literis ego ea militādo didici: nunc vos existimate facta an dicta pluris sint. Contēnunt nouitatem meam ego illorū ignauiam: mihi fortuna illis probra obiectātur: q̄q̄ ego naturam vnam & cōmunem oīm existimo: sed fortissimum quemq; generosissimum esse.

At si iam ex patribus Albini: aut Bestię q̄ri posset me ne an illos ex se gigni: maluerint: quid responsuros creditis? nisi sese liberos q̄ optimos voluisse.

Or si iure despiciunt me fiant idem maioribus suis quibus vti mihi ex virtute nobilitas cœpit.

Inuident honori meo: et

go inuidiant labori & in nocentiæ: periculis etiã meis: quoniam p hæc illum honorem cœpi.

Verũ corrupti hoies ſup bia ita ætatem agũt qua ſi veſtros honores cõtenant: ita hos petunt qua ſi honeſteque vixerint.

Ne illi falſi ſunt qui diuerſiſſimas res pariter expectant: ignauiæ voluptatem et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos aut i ſenatu verba faciunt pleraq; orationi maiores ſuos extollunt eorum fortia facta memorando clariores eſſe putant: quod cõtra eſt Nam quãto vita eorum præclarior: tãto horum ſecordia flagitioſior. Et profecto ita ſe res habet.

Maiorũ gloria quaſi poſteris lumen eſt: neq; bona neque mala eorum in occulto paritur.

Huiuſce rei ego iopiam patior quirites. Verũ id quod multo præclariꝰ eſt meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nũc videte q̃ in iqui ſũt: quod ex aliena virtute ſibi arrogant id mihi ex mea non concedũt ſcilicet q̃ imagines non habeo: et quia mihi noua nobilitas eſt: quam certe peperiſſe melius eſt

myne honour. Than lette them alſo haue enuy at my labours taken for defence of the cõmen wayle: let them enuy myne innocẽtie and great peryls / which I haue ouercõe. For by theſe meanes I haue obtayned and alſo ſhall mentayne this honor which they ſo greatly enuy. But theſe men corrupt by pryde: after ye haue promoted them to worſhyppe: ſo paſſeth their tyme as if they ſette nought by your offices and honours by you obtayned: but vtterly dyſpyſed them. Thus they deſyre ſuch dygnities of duety: as if they were worthy and deſerued to haue them by their honeſt lyueng and vertuous conuerſacion. But certaynely they be greatly diſceyued which loketh after two thinges cõtrary bothe togyder & at one ſeaſon. So do theſe noble mẽ. For they wold haue ꝑ voluptuous pleaſure of ſlouth and ydelneſſe / and their rewardes due vnto vertue and laborious dilygence. But whan theſe gentylmen vtter their wordes before you orſpeke before the ſenatours: than in the mooſt part of their ſpeche they exalt and commende their auncetry wenyng to be cõũted more noble and excellent by recountyng and reducynge to remembrance the valyant dedes of their progenitours. But it is nothyng ſo. For how moche more excellent the fame & honour of their progenytours was: ſomoch more ſhamefull and reprouable is this cowarde ydelneſſe of theſe gentylmen nowe lyueyng which ſo farre go out of kynde from the honorable conuerſacyon of their progenytours: as if they had neuer deſcendedde of them. And verely this is certayne: the glorious dedes and honorable of forefathers be lyke an example or luminary vnto their offſpringe or progeny. So that the ſame light ſuffreth neyther the good dedes nor badde of their progeny to be hydde. For yf the progeny varie from the glorious actes of their progenytours than the honour of both is diſtaynedde: but if they folowe them in vertue / than the light and glorie of the progenitours ſhyneth more radiantly by vertu of their progeny. Of this laude and honoure of my progeny I can nat booſt me for they were but of baſe degre. Their dedes can nat auaunce me nor make me noble. But it is lawfull to me to ſpeke of myne owne dedis whiche laude is moche more clere and excellent than to booſt of other mennes actes. But nowe conſyder ye how vntight wyſe theſe gentylmenne are to me: they wyll nat graunt me that laude and honoure by myne owne vertue and actes: whiche they vſurpe and proudely take vpon them by the vertue and dedes of other men. And wherfore thynke ye doo they this.

Playne

Playnely I suppose bycause I haue no ymages of my progenytours exaltedde in remembrance of them as these gentylmen haue: and bycause my noblenesse is but newe and spryngyng. But theirs is auncient and by their dysorder decayng. But certenly I count it more better and honorable to be rote and begynner of noblenesse vnto all my progeny and to leue the same vnto my branches: than to corrupt and defyle nobilnesse receyued of my progeny: as many of these gētylmen do. Forsoth I am nat ignorāt but that yf these estates were nowe present and shulde answere to my wordes their spech shulde be abundantly paynttedde: ornate/and elygant ynough. But syth they cease nat to blame and reuyle with their lewde wordes in euery place bothe you and me for this your great office which ye haue gyuen vnto me: it hath nat pleasedde me to be styll nor to kepe secrete their fautes: lest some might count me culpable and worthy of their rebukes: by reason of myne indyscrete pacyence and sylence. Neuertheless sothely their wordes can nat greaue nor hurte me: after the conscyence of myne owne mynd. For if they say trueth they can nought say but good and worshyp by me: but if they wyll nedes ly on me: my maners/ my lyueng/ and cōuersacyon is such that I shall ouercome their wordes & proue their iniust accusementes fayned and falce. But syth your counsell is blamed of these noble men bycause ye haue cōmytted to me this great honoure and gretter besynes: cōsyder ye in your myndes dilygētly & often whyther ye shall nede to repēt you of this dede or nat. To say trueth I can nat boost my self of the ymagis of my pgenyto'rs nor I can nat recount vnto you ỹ tryumphes or consulshyps of myne auncetry. But yf the mater requyred: I coude well shewe vnto you speares/ stāderdes/ horse/ trappers/ harnesse: with many other rewardes of chyualrie: some gyuen to me of thempour/ and some of other captayns for myne actes in batayle. And other some which with myne handes I haue won of thēnemies of thēpyre. I coude also if it neded shewe you in the fore part of my body manyfold scarres of many and large woundes whiche I haue taken in good worth for defence of our countrey and cōmen wele. These be my ymages which I can shewe. This is my noblenes: nat lefte to me by heritage (as theirs is to thē) but noblenes which I haue won and goten with great & sore labours of my body & peryll of my lyfe.

¶ My wordes be nat ordred in ornate langage nor my spech paynted with rethorike like theirs for I set lytell therby. My

q̄ acceptam corrupisse.

Equidem non ignoro: si iam respondere velint a bunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio cum oibus locis me vosq; maledicꝯ lacerent non placuit reticere: ne quis modestiā in cōscientiam duceret.

Nam me equidem ex animi sententia nulla oratio lædere pōt: quippe vera necesse est prædicent: falsa vita moresq; mei superant. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accusantur qui mihi sūmum honorē et maximum negotiū imposuistis: etiam atq; etiā animis reputate num eorum pœnitēdum sit. Nō possum fidei causa imagines: neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorū meorum ostendere. At si res postulet hastas vexillum: phaleras: alia militaria dona præterea cicatrices in aduerso corpore.

Hæ sunt meæ imagines: hæc nobilitas non hereditate relicta vt illa illis sed quæ meis laboribus et periculis quæsiui. Nō sunt composita mea verba: parum id facio: ipsa se virtus satis ostendit.

Illis artificio opus eſt vt turpia facta oratione tegant. Neq; græcas literas didici: parum placebat eas diſcere: quippe q̄ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant.

At illa multo optima re ipu. doctus ſum hoſtes ferire: præſidia agitare: nihil metuere niſi turpem famam: hyemē et æſtatē iuxta pati: humi requieſcere eodem tēpore inopiam et laborem tolerare. Ergo his ego præceptis milites hortabor neque arcte colā illos vt me opulentēt neq; gloriā meā labprem illoꝝ faciam.

Hoc eſt vtile hoc ciuile imperium. Nam cum tute per molliciem agas: ſupplicio cogere: id eſt dñm non imperatorem eſſe.

Hæc atq; alia talia noſtri maiores faciendo ſeque remq; pu. celebrauere: quis nobilitas freta ipſa diſſimulis moribus: nos illorum æmulos contēnit et oīs honores non exmerito: ſed quaſi debitos a vobis repetit. Cæterum hīes ſupbiſſimi: procul erant. Maiores eorū oīa quæ licebat illis reliquere: diuitias imagines memoriam ſui præclarā: virtutem: non reliquere neq; poterāt: ea ſola neq; datur dono neq; accipit.

vertue ſheweth it ſelfe playnelie ynough without gloſeddē oꝛ payntedde woꝛdes. But theſe noble menne muſt of neceſſyte haue craft foꝛ to couer their ſhamefull and vngoodly dedes/ with their eloquent woꝛdes/ their crafty and rethoꝛike ſpech Noꝛ as foꝛ me: I neuer lerned the greke letters noꝛ langage which thing theſe eſtates obiect agaynſt me: as a great faut. But to be playne: my pleaſure was neuer moche to lerne ſuche thynges/ which haue lytell auayled vnto the techers of the ſame/ nepther to acquyſityon of vertue noꝛ erpulſyon of vice. But I haue lerned and am taught in other things moch better: and moꝛe pꝛofitable to the cōmen wayle: as to aſſayle and ſtryke myne ennemies: to reaue away their oꝛdynance and vytayls: to chafe their garnyſon. Nothyng to dꝛede noꝛ feare ſaue an yll name: to endure and take in good woꝛth the pleaſure of the ſomer and the hardnes of the wynter both in lyke: to ly vpon the grounde: to endure hunger and labour both togyder. Therfoꝛe I ſhall exhoꝛt and infoꝛme my ſoudiours with theſe pꝛeceptes: which I my ſelf haue lerned/ vſed and aſſayed. Noꝛ I ſhall nat handell oꝛ treat theym by crafte to thintent that they may auance me with richeſſe: noꝛ vſe thē ſharply and my ſelfe pleſantly: but in euery dyfficulte I ſhall be their example of laboure: noꝛ I ſhall nat put the labour to them and take the woꝛſhyp to me. This oꝛder is pꝛofytable. Thus ought a captayne demean hym among his ſoudiours and namely among woꝛthy cytezins. Foꝛ whan a mā lyueth dilycately hymſelf/ and dꝛiueth his ſoudyours to the peryll of batayle by puniſſ hmēt oꝛ other rygour: he is nat to be called a cappytayne oꝛ ruler of an army: but rather a pꝛoude loꝛde oꝛ tyꝛannous oppꝛeſſer of cytezins. Our eldets woꝛthely behauyng themſelfe after this maner haue made noble and exellēt and inryched this cōmen wayle: and themſelfe alſo. But thes eſtates which nowe lyueth truſtyng to be honouredde by the woꝛthyneſſe of their pꝛogenytours/ they themſelfe vnlyke of cōdycions deſpyce vs and haue vs in dyſdayne which folowe the maners of their pꝛogenytours. And euery hye office and all honours they chalange and demaunde of you nat by their merytelſe: but as it were of duetie and heritage. But ſothely the ouer pꝛoude-men erre moche from the trueth. Foꝛ though their ꝑgenitours and aūcetry haue left vnto thē euery thing which to them was poſſyble to leaue: as ryches/ patrymony/ and their ymages: foꝛ remēbꝛance and example of thē and of their woꝛthy dedꝛ. Neuertheles their vertu haue they nat left

vnto

vnto thē: nor they coude nat kepe it: for that onely can neyther be gyuen vnto thē inwarde nor receyued of any mā. These gentylmen say that I am a man without maners and vnclenly of behauoure. And why? For soth bycause that I prepare & dresse nat curyously many delycious bankettes so superfluous and dentyous as they do: and bycause I haue no tougler nor dysare with me to moue sportes and dyssolute laughyng: nor no more curyouse coke than one of the byllage longyng to rurall people/ which thynges to haue as these gentylmen haue: it pleaseth me nat to knowledge. For I neuer had pleasure in such thynges. For I haue harde of my father and of other incorrupt and well dysposed men: that such delycyousnesse and curyosite belongeth vnto women. And that labour and besynesse belongeth vnto men. Euery good man: thynketh it more conuenyent to haue plentie of worshyppe than of rychesse: And more honour it is to a good man to haue ꝑ walles of his house garnysshed and ouer coueredde with armour/ wherewith he may defende his countrey/ his frendes/ and hymselfe than with riche ornamentes of curyous warke of no profette saue onely the sight and vayne regarde therof. But sith thes gētylmen thus obiect such maters to me: let them cōtynue alway in suche vyces which lyketh thē/ and that hey haue euer reputed so dere. Let thē inclyne to voluptuosyte as daūsing/ synging/ bankettyng/ playng/ to lechery/ to glotony/ & dronkenes. For in such vyces haue they spende their youth: in the same let them pas forth their age vtterly subdued to the bely/ to slepe/ to ydelnes/ & subiect to the lustes of the vylest part of the body. Let them leaue the swete of fyghting/ the peryll of deth/ the blyndyng of dust in batayle: and otherlyke paryls vnto vs/ to whom these be more acceptable than their feestes and voluptuous bankettes or other vyle pleasurs. But they do nat so/ they be nat so cōtented. For after that such vngodly and vyle men haue dyshonested themselfe/ by their foule dedes: than be they redy to take away ꝑ rewardes of good men vnto thē. Thus (agaynst all right) lechery and slouth moost cursedde vyces dothe no hurt to such as occuppeth them: but they be vtter dystruction to the cōmen wayle: and commens which be innocent and vnculpable. ¶ But syth I haue made answere to these dysordred gentylmen: and that moderately after my custome and condycion and nat so largely as their cursednesse and vyces ar worthy. I shall speke nowe a fewe thynges touchyng the cōmen wele. And first of all haue

Sordidum me & incultis moribus aiunt q̄ parum scite conuiuium exornō: neque histrionem vllum neq; plūris coquum q̄ vil licū habeo: quæ mihi nō libet confiteri quirites: nam ex parente meo et a liis sanctis viris, ita accepi: mūdicias mulieribus viris laborem conuenire omnibus bonis oportere plus gloriæ q̄ diuitiarū: arma non supellectilem decori esse.

Quin ergo quod iuuat: quodq; charum æstimant id semp faciant amēt: potent vbi aduleſcentiā hz buere: ibi senectutē agāt in conuiuijs dediti vētri et turpissimæ parti corpis: sudorem: pulueremq; & alia talia nobis reliquāt quibus illa epulis iucundiora sunt.

Verum non ita est. Nam vbi se flagitiis dedecorauere turpissimi viri bonorum præmia ereptum eunt: ita iniustissime luxuria et ignauia pessime artes illis qui coluere eas nihil officiunt reip. in noxiæ cladi sunt. Nunc quoniā illis quantū mei mores non quantū illorū flagitia poscebāt respondi: pauca de rep. loquar.

Primum oim de Numidia bonum animum habetote Quirites. Nam quę vsq; ad hoc tempus Iugurthā tutata sunt: oia remouistis auaritiam/ imperitiam/ atq; supbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est locoꝝ sciens: sed me hercle magis strenuus q̄ felix. Nā magna pars eius auaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quāobrē vos quibus inest militaris ætas: adnitimini mecū: et capessite rēpu. Neq; quemq̄ ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum supbia metus cœpit Egomet i agmine atq; in prælio consultor idem & socius piculi vobiscū ad eroꝛme vosq; omnibus in rebus iuxta gerā. Et profecto diis iuuātibus omnia matura sunt victoria præda laus. Quæ si dubia: aut procul essent: tamen omnes bonos reipsubuenire deceret.

Etenim ignauia nemo īmortalis tactus est neq; quisq̄ parens liberis vti æterni forāt optauit magis q̄ vti boni honestique vitam exigerent.

Plura dicerem Quirites si timidis virtutem verba adderēt. Nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.

ye good trust and asperāce touchyng the besynes of numidy. For ye haue nowe moued and auoyded euery thyng wherby Jugurth was defended from beginnynge of the warre vnto this tyme: that is to say the couetyse of Calphurnius/ and of Albynus: the vncraftynes and foly of Iulus: and the pryde of Metellus. By these founde Jugurth socour hytherto: but all these be auoyded nowe. Moreouer ye haue they an armye whiche knoweth the contrey/ but verily it is more noble and mānly than fortunate or happy. For a great part therof is wasted and spent (and that worse is) infected and corrupted: what by the auarice and by the vnbolnesse and cowardyse of their captayns. Wherfore ye which be of lusty age and mete to endure the hardnesse of warre and batayle nowe labour ye with me. And take ye in hande the defence of the cōmen wayle. Nor let none of you be afrayed nor abasshed for the myssortune of the other soudyours which haue foughten there before this tyme nor of the pryde of their captayns. For I my selfe as counsello[r] of your besynesse and felowe of your perils shall be present with you in euery besinesse both in your tournays and in yor batayls also. So that I shall gouerne you and my selfe without dyfference/ and vnder one forme in euery poynt. And verely by helpe of the goddes we shall within shorte season obtayne all auantages and commodyties which any man may wynne in batayle/ as prayes/ victory/ with immortall laude and worshyppe. And certaynlie if these pleasours auantages were in dout or harde to obtayne (as they be nat). Neuerthelesse it were conuenyent to euery good man (as ye be) to socour and defende the commen wayle of their countrey fro dystruction and rebuke. For certaynlie there was neuer manne which obtayned immortall laude nor euerlasting name by cowardyse or sleuth. Nor there was neuer wyse father whiche wolde wysshe his chyldren or sonnes to lyue euer: but onely that they might lyue so long as they behauedde themselfe worthely in goodnesse and honestly: and so to passe forth their lyfe as naturall course requireth.

Worthy romayns: I wolde speke more vnto you if I vnderstode that strength coude be encreased to feble or fearfull men: by wordes: but it is nat so. Wherfore me semeth that I haue sayed ynough and abundantly to noble and bolde hartedde meune: as my trust is to proue you.

¶ How Marius after his exhortacion endyd: anone ladedde shyppes with ordynance of warre and sende forwarde with the same one Mālyus his imbassadour: and how he hymselfe anone after folowed withall his company. and howe he behauedde hymselfe in Numidy at firste begynnynge. ¶ The.li. chappter.

WHan Marius had vttred and ended his wordes vnder this forme: and whan he sawe all the myndes of the cōmens enclyned to the warre in truste of byctorie & prayes. Than anone without more delay he causedd shyppes to be charged with vitayls/ and treasour for the soudyours wages with armour/ weppyn/ and all other thynges necessary to warre. And cōmaunded one named Iulus Manlyus/ which was assigned embassadoure to hym: to depart forwarde with ꝑ same shyppes so charged. In the meane season Marius hymselfe remayned at Rome a lytell tyme: and chose forth soudyours suche as hym thought moost expedyent: and nat after the custome of the olde romayns his predecessours nor after instytucion of the auncyent captayns/ which had ordred certayne maner of peple of whom soudyours shulde be chosen for warfare in tyme conuenyent. But contrariwyse Marius admytted euery man indyfferently whiche was any thynge lickely and had pleasure to go with hym. And many suche he admytted also which were poore and nat suffredde to go to warfare before: lest their pouertie myght haue cōstrayned them rather to fall to robbery than to dedes of chiualry. Howbeit/ it was inacted of the olde romayns that suche excused of warfor cause aboue sayd: shulde pay a certayne somme of money prefixed towarde the wages of such as laufully were admytted to warre. Marius suffred none of these to pay any thyng at all: but elect many of them for his soudyours. Many of ꝑ romayns murmyssedde that Marius elected vnto warre these abiect persons: for want of other good soudyours. Some other demed that he so dyde for fauoure/ ambycion/ and partialyte: bycause this sort of people assistedde and honouredde hym by auauncement at begynninge of his promocyon.

¶ Huiuscemodi oratiōe habita Marius postq̄ plebis animos erectos videt propere cōmeatu/ stipendio/ armis/ atq; aliis vtilibus naues onerat. Cum his Aulum Manliū legatum proficisci iubet ipse interea milites scribere non more maiorum neq; ex classibus: sed vti cuiusque lubido erat: capite censos plerosque.

Id factum alij inopia bonorum: alij per ambitionem cōsulis memorabāt q̄ ab eo genere celebratus adiutusque erat:

et homini potẽtiam que renti egentissimus quisque oportunissimus: cui neq; sua chara (quippe q̃ nulla sunt) et oia cũ precio honesta videntur.

Igitur Marius cum aliquando maiore numero q̃ decretũ erat in Aphricam profectus: paucis diebus Vticam aduehit̃. Exercitus ei traditur a Publio Rutilio legato: nam Metellus prospectũ Marij fugerat: ne videret ea quæ audita animo tolerare nequiuerat. Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliarijs in agrũ fertilem et præda onustum proficiscitur: oia ibi capta militibus donat. Deinde castella et oppida parũ munita natura et viris aggreditur: prælia multa cæterum alia leuia locis facere. Interim noui milites siue metu pugne ad esse: videre fugientes capi aut occidi: fortissimũ quemq; tutissimũ: armis libertatẽ parriam/parẽtesq; et alia oia regi: gloriam atq; diuitias queri. Sic breui spacio noui/ veteresque coaluere: et virtus oim æqualis facta. At reges vbi de aduentu Marij cognouere: diuersi i locos difficiles ambeunt.

Ita Jugurthæ placuerat speranti mox effusos hostis inuadi possem roma

And also men consydred that vnto a man desyrous of dygnite and powere: the mooste nedy men be mooste mete and behouable. For such nedy wretches be mooste auenturous: for they haue nought to lose and alway truste in auauncement by auenturyng themselfe. And therfore they iudge euery thynge which they do: good/honest/and laudable: if any auantage be therto appendant. Thus dout they no paryll so that they may cõe therby to promocyon. At last Marius departed from Rome with somwhat gretter nombre than was graunted and decreed to hym of the senatours. Within fewe dayes after that: he toke shypping and arryued in the prouynce nert vnto Affrike vnder the romayns at a towne named Vtica. The army whiche was there with Metellus/ was delyuered to hym by one Publyus Rutilyus/ which was embassadour with the sayed Metellus. For Metellus hymselfe fledde the sight of Marius bycause he wolde nat se that with his eyen/ which his mynde coude nat endure to here. But whan Marius had restored and fulfylled the legiõs of his soudyours/ and the cohortz for the subsidyes and rescous. Thame went he into a plentyfull plagge of numidy whiche was full of prayes. All that he toke there. he gaue frely intewarde to his soudyours. This done: he assayled suche castels and townes which were but febly defended with men and walles. He had many batayls and light skyrmisshes: and many other thynges he dyd in other places nat with moch dyfficultie. In the meane tyme the newe soudyours were redy manly fightyng without fere: and seyng þ they which fledde were other take or slayne: therfore they aduysed them well that the strongest and boldest was most sure of all. They consydred well that it stode them in hande to defende with weppyn and armour their lybertie/their countrey/ their frendes/ and all other thynges longyng to their helth and honour. Thus laboured they for glorie/ laude/ & riches whiche they obtayned. so that within short season the olde soudyours and the newe encreased togyder cherisshing and in fourthynge one an other tyll their vertue and boldnesse was lyke. But whan the two kynges Jugurth and Boccus vnderstode of the cõmyng of Marius: they deuyded their hoostes & went in sonder into dyuers places where no man coude attayne to them for dyfficultie of the places. This was done by counsell of Jugurth. For it pleased hym so to do trustyng that within short space the romayns wolde be spredde abrode in spoyling and than thought he to assayle them in euery place whan they

were

were moost without fere at lyberte/ at large/ and bnpzouy-
dede as men ar wont to be specially whan their ennemies be-
haueth them as if they were affrayed. Than often be the by-
ctours inpzouydent and lesse circumspect.

nos sicuti plerosq; remo
to metu laxius licētius-
que futuros.

## ¶ Howe Metellus the olde consull retourned to Rome: and of the worthy and valiant behauour of Marius agaynst Jugurth: and of his great ac-tes at his begynnyng. ¶ The.lii. chapyter.

¶ Metellus interea Ro-
mam profectus: contra
spem suam lætissimis a-
nimis excipitur plebi pa
tribusq; postq̄ inuidia de
cesserat: iuxta charus.

In the meane tyme Metellus went vn to Rome: which contrary to his opynion was re cepued with glad myndes of the romayns. and after that the enuy which Marius had moued a gaynst hym was all waged and ouerpassedde: he was like dere and beloued both to the cōmens and senatours. ¶ But Marius on his part applyed a toke hede to his owne besynesse and his ennemies also: wout slouth but with great wysedome. He pceyued well and knewe what was good and yll for auantage on both sydes or agaynst. He caused ỹ wayes and iournayes of the two kynges to be daylie serched and espyed. He preuented and interrupted their counsels/ prouysions/ and gyles. He suffred nothyng to be bnprouyded and bnredy on his syde: but of the other syde and party of his ennemies: he suffred nothyng to be sure or prouyded: for alway he preuented their prouysions and pursued thē. Often whyle Jugurth and the Getulyans spoyled the Numidyans which had yelded them selfe to the romayns. Marius was redy in their way and valyantlie assayled them: and slewe and ouer-thrue many of them/ whyle they were dysperssed a brode and fleyng away for feare. And also nat ferre frō the towne of Cirtha/ he made Jugurth hymselfe so trust in his flyght that for hast to ren away: he laft his armour behynde him. But whan Marius consydred that his actes wey onely glorious and ex ellent without any auantage: and that he might nat execute bataple with Jugurth for his vnstedfastnes and mouyng frō place to place: he cōcluded in mynde and ordayned hym redy to besyege the cyties of the contrey one after an other. And na mely suche as outher of nier or of place were necessary and be houable to his ennemies/ and contrary or hurt to hym. This dyd he thynkyng: that if Jugurth without dystourbance suf-

Sed Marius impigre pru
denterque suorum et ho
stium res pariter attēde-
re: cognoscere quid vtri-
que boni: aut cōtra esset
explorare itenera regū:
consilia et insidias ante
uenire. Nihil apud se
remissum neque apud il-
los tutum pati.
Itaque et getulos et Iu-
gurthā prædas agētes ex
sociis nris sæpe aggress⁹
itinere fuderat. ipsumq;
regē haud procul ab op-
pido Cirtha armis exue-
rat. Quæ postq̄ glorioſa
modo facta sunt: neq; bel
li copiam patrādi cogno
uit: statuit vrbis quæ vi-
ris aut loco pro hostibus
et aduersum se oportu-
nissime erāt singulas cir
cūuenire: ita ratus aut
Iugurtham præsidijs nu
datum si ea pateret aut
prælio certaturum.

Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat vel le populo ro. amicitiam ne quid a se hostile timeret.
Id simulauerit ne quo improuisus grauior accederet: an mobilitate ingenij pacem atque bellum mutare solitus parū exploratum est. Sed consul vt cōstituerat oppida castellaq; munita adire partim vi: alia metu aut pmia ostentando auertere ab hostibus.

Ac primo mediocria gerebat: existimans Iugurtham ob suos tutādos in manus vēturum. sed vbi illum procul abesse et aliis negotijs intētum accepit: maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est.

CErat inter ingētes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens noie Capsa cuius cōditor Hercules libys memorabat. Eius ciues apud Iugurtham immunes lenī imperio: et ab ea fidelissimi

fred hym so to do/ he shulde other be spoyled and bereft of his cyties/ ordynance/ socours/ and refuge: or els he must abyde the fortune of batell and stryue for the maistry in playne feld. Bocchus the kyng of the maurpens had often sende messangers before vnto Marius: sayeng that he wolde gladly come into fauour/ amyte/ and frendshyp of the romayns: and byddyng Marius nat to dout hym as an ennemy nor to fear any thyng longynge to a ennemy to be cōmytted of hym agaynst the romayns. It is but lytell knowen for trueth whether Bocchus fayned this thyng to the intent that his commyng to batayle vnknowen and vnprouedde myght be to Marius more greuous: or els whether he was wōt by vnstablenes of mynde to change peace somtyme for warre: and somtyme warre for peace. But Marius the consull (as he had purposedde before) drue hym vnto the castels and townes which were walled and defended: and fiersly assayled them. Anone he tourned many of them frō his ennemies to hym/ some by strēgth and vyolence/ some by feare: and other some by promysinge and gyueng of rewardes and prodycion of their captayns. But at first begynning he medled but with mean castels and townes thynking that Jugurth shuld come to defende and socour his people and townes: and so come into danger of the romayns. But whan Marius harde that Jugurth was farthens and occupyed in other besynesses: thā thought he nat to lose his tyme: but to auēture on gretter thynges wherin was more harde besynesse and gretter labour and honour. Wherfore he entendedde to besiege the cyte of Capsa/ which was a great cytie/ stronge/ and riche.

## How Marius wanne the great and rych cytie named Capsa: and how he vtterly distroyed the same and gaue all the rychesse therof to hauocke among his soudyours. The.liii. chapyter.

AMong the mooste wydest and thickest wyldernesses of numidy was this great & ryche cytie named Capsa: which (as men say) was first bylded by that Hercules whiche was borne in the lande of Libya: & nat by Hercules the sonne of Jupyter and Alcumena. The inhabytours of this cyte were ruled

ruled by Jugurth peasably and easely put to no charges nor besynesse/ and therfore were they moost true and faythfull to hym. They were defended & agaynst all ennemies: nat onely with walles/armour/ & men: but also with moch stronger defece of ꝑ difficulte and hardnesse of the place & contrey nere about them. So that it was in maner impossyble that any army coude come nere them for wãt of water: and scarsyte of vyteis. For except the feldes and places nere to the cite/ all the other be voyde and wast grounde and desart without habytacyon/ vneared/ barayne: and drie without water. All full of serpẽtes: which were somoch more vyolent and fiers for lacke of meat and sustenance/ as all other wylde beestes be wont to inrage for hunger. And moreouer the myscheuous and perylous nature of serpentes is more kyndled to ragyng and vexed with thyrst/than with any other thyng. Which thyrst they coude nat queneh there: for want of water. Wherfore neyther man nor beest might surely passe by them. Whã Marius cast all these difficulties in his mynde: his hert was perced with a merueylous desyre to wynne this cyte/ both for that it was moche hurtfull to hym: and profytable to Jugurth/ and also bycause it was harde to do and moche honour myght be gotten in wynning therof. And moreouer bycause Metellus the other consull before hym had wonne the cyte of Thala with great honour and glorie: which of sytuation was nat vnlyke to this cyte: nouther vnlyke in defence. Saue that nat farre from the walles of Thala were a fewe fountayns: but about this cyte of Capsa was no water/ well/ nor fontayne: saue one and that was within the walles of the cytie alway full of water. All other which dwelled without the walles/ as in the suburbes: occupyed but rayne water. The inhabytantes of that countrey and of all the remenant of Affrike/ which were farfro the see and rude people coude moche the better endure this scarsyte of water and thirst: for this cause. For the moost part of them were fedde with mylke and venyson nat lokyng after salt/sauces/nor other suche thynges as be nor ssthynges or prouocatyues to glotony. They toke meate and drinke onely to slake their hunger/ and to quench their thyrst: and nat without measure to prouoke themselfe to pleasure of the flesshe as many christẽmen do now we in our dayes: which make of their bely their god. And eate nat to lyue: but they lyue to eate contrary to mãnes lyfe/and vtterly enclyned to beestialyte. O cursed glotony let vs christẽmen lerne here of paynims to eschewe

habebantur: muniti aduersum hostes non mœnibus modo et armis atq; viris: verũetiam multo magis aspitate locoꝝ.

Nam præter oppido loca propiqua: alia oia vasta: inculta: egẽtia aquæ infesta a serpẽtibus: quorum vis: sicuti omnium ferarũ in opia cibi acrior. Ad hoc natura serpẽtiũ pniciosa: siti magis q̃ alia re accenditur.

Eius potiundi Marium maxima cupido inuaserat: tum propter vsũ belli: tum quia res asperi debatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria cœperat: haud dissimiliter situm munitũque: nisi q; apud Thalã non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant. Capsences vna modo atque ea intra oppidum fugi a qua: cæteri pluuia vtebãtur. Id ibiq; et in Aphrica (quæ procul a mari incultius agebat) eo facilius tolerabatur: quia numidę plerũque lacte & ferina carne vescebant: et neq; salem neq; alia irritamẽta gule quærebant: cibus potusq; illis aduersus famẽ atq; sitim nõ libidini neq; luxurie erat.

Igitur cõsul omnibus exploratis credo diſs fretꝰ

Nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis prouidere non poterat (quippe etiam frumenti inopia tẽtabatur q Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis q̃ aruo studẽt.
Et quodũq; semẽ natum fuerat iussu regis in loca munita contulerant. Ager autẽ aridus et frugum vacuus ea tẽpestate namætatis extremum erat). Tamẽ pro rei copia satis prouidenter exornat. Pecus omne quod superioribus prædæ fuerat: equitibus auxiliaris agendum attribuit.

Aulum Manlium legatũ cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Larim (vbi stipendium et cõmeatum locauerat) ire iubet: dicitq; se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem vẽturum. Sic incœpto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanam.

Ceterũ in itenere quotidie quadraginta duũ peditum exercitui per centurias item p turmas æqualiter distribuerat:
et ex corijs vtres vti fierent curabat: simul et in copiam frumẽti lenire: et

the: which wasteſt the body and goodes: damneſt the ſoule: & art mother and nource of all vyces. But to retourne to my purpoſe: this Marius after ꝯ he had ſerched euery thyng by his eſpyes/ he proceded in his interpriſe and purpoſe (as mẽ thought) holpen of the goddes. For agaynſt ſo many and harde dyfficulties he coude nat haue made ſure prouyſion by counſell of man nor by his owne priuate wyt: as he which had impedyment was letted natonely by ſharpneſſe of the contrey: but alſo by lacke and ſcarcyte of wheat and of all other corne. For the numidyans intendeth more to noriſſhe paſture for be aſtes than to labour or ere ꝯ grounde for corne. And alſo they had brought togyder all the ſeed and corne of the yere before into ſtrong holdes as their kyng Jugurth had cõmaũded thẽ and moreouer at that ſeaſon the feldes on euery ſyde were dry and bare without corne: and marnayle. For it was about the extrempte or later ende of ſomer. Nat withſtandyng all theſe dyfficultes and ſharpneſſes Marius made puyſion ynough as the mater required. Firſt he cõmytted all the beeſts which he had taken in pray in foretyme vnto the horſemen/ which of their owne wyll folowed hym to warre: or were ſende to hym for helpe by frendes of thempyre. Marius cõmaunded them to take charge to dryue forth theſe beeſts. Than ſent he Aulus Mãlyus which was emballadour of the hooſt to a towne named Laris/ and all the cohortes of his ſoudyours with hym which were fotemen and light harnyſed for to kepe the treaſour of the ſoudyours wages and vitayls: which he had lefte in the ſame towne. Marius kept his counſell of this interpriſe ſo ſecrete that none of all his company hyr horſe knewe of his purpoſe or what he intended. But whan Manlius and his company ſhulde depart towarde Laris: Marius dyſſemuled with them ſayeng that he wolde ſtray abrode in numydy inquyring and afterwarde within fewe dayes: he and his company wolde come alſo to the ſame towne of Laris/ laded with prayes of his ennemies. This done: he depted towarde a flode named Tana: no creature liuely knewyng of his purpoſe. And euery day he dyſtribued in his iournayes among his hooſt. xlii. heed of oxen for vitayle/ which he cõmaunded to be deuyded by euyn portion amonge them by hunders and halfe hunders togyder: deuidyng vitayls to euery company after their nombre. And in the meane ſeaſon he charged bottels and bowges to be made of the hydes of the ſame beeſtes and of other leddar in great nõbre. Moreouer he ſaued their

ſcarcyte

ſcarcyte of wheate and other corne: by wyſe prouiſyon. And without knowledge of all his company he made good prouiſyon of euery thing/ which might be neceſſary vnto his army in tyme of nede. At concluſyon the ſixt day after whanne they were come to the ſayd flodde of Cana: thyder was brought a myghtie multytude of bottels and bowges made of ladder. Their pyrthedō they their tentes with eaſy labour and ſmall defence. Than refreſſhed they themſelfe with meate and drynke: and eaſedde themſelfe a certayne ſpace. This done: Marius their cappytayne cōmaunded them that euery man ſhuldō be redy to prede forwardō euyn with the ſonne goyng downe and that euery man ſhulde onely lade hymſelfe and his beaſtes with water in the ſayd bowges and botels leauynge all other carryage/ burthens/ and baggage: there behynde them in their tentes/ vnder the cuſtody of other ſoudyours therto aſſignedde. After this whan he ſawe his tyme: he departedō forth from his tentes with his company: and laboured all the nyght longe in his iournay. The day after folowynge he reſted in a ſecrete and couert place. In the ſame wyſe behauedō he hymſelfe the nyght next inſuynge: and in the thyrde night moche before the day light/ he came and entredō into a fayre and large felde full of ſmall hylles and downes no more but two myle ſpace from Capſa. And there he taryed withall his hooſt in the mooſt priueſt maner abydinge the day lyght. But aſſone as the day beganne to appere: many numidyans yſſued forth of the towne: ſome to dyſporte themſelfe: and ſome about their beſynes/ nought featyng nor ſuſpectyng of their ennemies. Whan Marius ſawe that: anone withall haſte he ſent all his horſmen to the towne and with them as many fote men in lyght harneſſe as were mooſt ſwyft and ſpedy. Whōe he commaunded to renne withall haſt and boldely and valyantly to aſſayle the towne: and to beſiege the gates. Than after hymſelfe folowed ſpedely: but with good hede and aduyſement: nat ſuffreyng his ſoudiours in the aſſaut nor in the way thyderwarde to fall to robynge nor prayes by ſpoylynge of their ennemies. Whan thinhabytantes of the towne knewe herof: their eaſe was vnſure/ their feare great and horryble: for the ſodayne chaunce of them was nothyng ſuſpectedō before/ nor puyded. Many of the cytezins which were without the towne were taken in power & captiuyte of the romayns their ennemies ſent vnto them within the towne deſyring thē for ſaue garde of their lyues to yelde themſelfe and the cyte to

ignaris omnibus parare quæ mox vſui forent.

Deniq; ſexto die cum ad flumen ventum eſt maxima vis vtrium: effecta ē.

Ibi caſtris leui munimēto poſitis milites cibum capere atq; vti ſimul cū occaſu ſolis egrederētur paratos eſſe iubet: omnib⁹ abiectis ſarcinis aqua modo ſeq; et iumēta onerare.

Deinde poſtq̄ viſū eſt tēpus caſtris egreditur: nocteq; totam itinere facto conſedit. Idem proxima facit. Deinde tertia multo ante lucis aduentum peruenit in locū tumuloſum longe a Capſa non amplius duum milium interuallo: ibique q̄ occultiſſime poteſt cum omnibus copiſs diem operitur. Sed vbi dies cœpit et Numidæ nihil hoſtile metuentes multi oppido egreſſi: repente omnem equitatum: et cū his velociſſimos pedites curſu tendere ad Capſam: et portas obſidere iubet. Deinde ipſe intētus propere ſequi neq; milites p̄dari ſinere. Quæ poſtq̄ oppidani cognouere: res trepidæ metus inges: malum improuiſum.

Ad hoc pars ciuiū extra mœnia in hoſtium poteſtate deprehenſa cogere vti deditionem facerēt.

Cæterum oppidum incẽsum. Numide puberes inter fectiq; alij omnes venũ dati præda militibus diuisa. Id facinus contra ius belli nõ auaritia: neq; scelere consulis est admissũ: sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus nobis aditu difficilis: gen⁹ hominum mobile infidũ ante: neq; beneficio: neq; metu coercitum.

Marij. So was it done at cõclusion. Howbeit this nat withstandyng Marius brent the cyte. All the numidyans inhabytantis therof which were of full age & able to bere wepen were slayne: and the remanent as women/ chyldren/ and aged men were taken prisoners and solde for their raunsome. The pray and rychesse was deuydedde amonge the soudyours. This dede agaynst the lawe of armes was nat thus done by Marius: by couetyse nor any outher cruelte of hym: but bycause the towne and place was profitable behouable/ and necessare to Jugurth/ and to the remayns harde to come to. And ỹ maner of the people proued mouable and vnfaythfull euer of nature before: and neyther refrayned frõ their yll apetyte by benefite or good dede: nor yet with awe or feare of punysshmẽt.

## Howe Marius by fortune more thã by strẽgth wanne the strongest castell of all Numidy/ wherin were the tresours of Jugurth. ¶The.liiii.cha.

¶ Postq̃ tantam rem peregit Marius sine vllo suorum incõmodo: magn⁹ et clar⁹ antea maior clariorq; haberi cœpit. Oia non bene consulta modo verum etiam casu data in virtutem trahebantur.

After that Marius had brought to ende so great and harde an interprise without any losse or dãmage to hym or any of his peple. Though he were reputed noble/ great/ and exellent before: than began he to be counted more famous and exellent. Euery noble dede which was done: was reputed to be don by strength and wysedom of Marius: and ascribed to his strength and polycie. And that such thyngs as wer done by good counsell and prouysion/ and also suche as hapned by fortune or chance: and by negligence of their ennemies. The soudyours were so manerly treated without cruelty or fiersnesse of their captayne/ and also made riche and abundant of tresour and iewels: that they exalted and prayled his name to the heuen. And loued hym as themselfe. But in cõtrari wyse the numidyans feared hym more than any man lyueyng. Shortly to speke: both the frendes of thempyre and ennemies also thought verily that outher Marius had a godly mynde and was a god hymselfe: or els that he was prine with the goddes: and dyd all his dedes and besynesse by their ad-

Milites modesto imperio habiti: simul et locupletes ad cœlũ ferre Mariũ

Numidæ magis q̃ vllum mortalem timere postremo omnes socij: atq; hostes credere illi aut mentem diuinam esse aut deos nutu cuncta portẽdi.

uyse/

uyse/counsell/and prouysion: which shewed hym before what shulde fortune after. But whan this chaunce had fortuned so well at Capsa: anone Marius drue hyme to other townes/ & toke as many as he besieged. In some townes the numidyās resysted hym to their power: but it coude nat auayle. In many other townes the dwellars gaue them ouer and left them voyde and ran away feryng so to be treated & delt withall as they of Capsa were: bycause their townes were lyke behouable to Jugurth/ and hurtfull to Mari⁹. Whan Marius cam to any such towne: destitute and voyde of dwellars he set fyre in them and brent them grounde smothe. The aged men/ women and chyldren: toke them to wodes and caues to hyde thē. The yong men and lusty which were taken wer slayne downe right. Thus was euery place fylled with weppyng & waylyng/ brennynge and slaughter: one mengled with an other. Finally after that Marius had won into his handes/ many townes and castels: and some without resystence or blode shedyng of his men. He went in hande wt an other matistry & difficultie nat so sharpe nor harde to come to as was Capsa/ but to be won or besiged it was nat les harde nor of les difficulte.

¶ Nat fary from the flodde of Mulucha (which water deuydeth the kyngdome of Jugurth: from the kyngdome of Bocchus) was a great rocke or mountayne of stone in myddes of a playne open ynough to be sene hauynge therupon bylded a meane castell of quantite: but of a meruaylous altytude & onely one strayet passage and narowe/ lefte to cōe therto. But on euery other syde the rocke of naturall growynge was downe right lyke a wall: as if it had ben made for the nones with mānes hādes. Marius purposed with all his might to take this castell: and namely bycause the tresours of Jugurth were wtin the same. But this his purpose at last came to effect/ rather by chaunce of fortune/ than by prouision or counsell. For this castell was garnysshed and plētuously instored with mē/ wepen/ vytels/ and withall other ordynance requisyte & necessary to defence of such a forteres. Moreouer wtin the same was a fountayne plētyfull of clere water. And be syde this the sytuacion therof was such ꝑ without maruelous difficulte and vnmesurable labour none ennemies myght attayne or approche nere therto their ingens of batell to fruysshe the walles or any other part therof. Besyde all these defēces the double walles of this castell were garnysshed with towres/ bulwarkes/ and all other defences and ingens which coude be ymagined by mā-

Sed consul: vbi ea res bene euenit: ad alia oppida pergit pauca repugnātibus Numidis capit:

plura propter capsensiū miseris igni corrumpit:

luctu atque cæde omnia complentur.

Denique multis locis potitus ac plerisq; exercitu incruento: aliam rem aggreditur non eadem aspritate qua Capsensiū: cæterum haud secus difficilem. Nanq; haud longe a flumie Mulucha (quod Iugurthæ Bocchique regnum disiungebat) erat inter cæteram planiciem mōs saxeus mediocri castello: satis patens in immensum editus: vno per angusto aditu relicto. Nam per omnia natura: velut opere atque consulto præceps erat quem locum Marius q̄ ibi regis thesauri erant summa vi capere intēdit: sed ea res forte q̄ cōsilio melius gesta erat.

Nam in castello virorum atque armorū satis magna vis et frumenti et fons aque: aggeribus/ turribusq; et alijs machinationibus locus importunus.

Iter castellanorum angustum admodum vtrinque precise vineæ cū ingenti piculo frustra agebātur

nes mynde: and that rowude about in compasse aswell within/ as without. The way therto: by whiche the inhabytantes and garnyson vsedde to go and come/ was very strayet and narowe. In somoche that the romayns entrynge by the same way with their ingens of batayle: were constrayned to dutte their pauases on both sydes and to make them more narowe for strayetnesse of the passage. And in suche maner they proceded forwarde vnder the same in great paryll and with moche dyfficultie: and at conclusyon all in vayne. For whan they were come nere to the walles and wolde haue sette vp and adioynedde the same pauases to the walles to haue vndermyned vnder the: all their labour was frustrate. For what with stones and what with fyre the defenders of the castell brake and brent them agayne downe to the grounde. Thus rowde nat the soudyours whiche vndermynedde the walles: contynue togyder at their worke and besynesse: for strayetnes and dyfficultie of the place and importune vyolence of them within the castell. Nor other soudyours coude nat serue them whi che made and repared the pauases without great paryll and daunger. For contynually as fast as they rapsedde the pauases to couer and defende themselfe: they were broken and brēt bytwene their handes. In the meane tyme no soudioure was so good/ stronge/ nor bolde: but that he was outher wouded or beatten downe to dethe. Than was feare encreasedde to other that were feble and faynt herteddē.

Nam cum hæ paululum processerant igni aut lapidibus corrumpebātur.

Milites neq; pro ope cōsistere propter iniquitatem loci: neq; inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quisq; rapere aut fauciare: cæteris metus augeri.

¶ But after that many dayes and great labours in this manere were ouerpassed and spent in vayne. Marius was sore angred and beredde in his hert reuoluyng many thynges in mynde: but specially whyther he myght gyue ouer his purpose (seyng his labour frustrate) or els abyde the chaunce of fortune whiche at many tymes before he hadde founde fauorable and frendly to hym. Whyle Marius chafedde and brennyng in desyre tourned and reuoluedde suche thynges in his mynde both day and night: it hapened by chaunce of fortune that a certayne lumbard a symple soudyour/ one of the company which was last sende from Rome to Numidy to supply the armye: strayedde abrode frome his company a lytell way whiche lumbarde as he wandredde founde among the stones many small snayles creppynge on the grounde: nat farre from that syde of þ castell which was ouer agaynst the syde which the romayns besyged and assayled. Bycause this lumbard in his countrey was accustomed lyke other of his countrey men to eate

At Marius multis diebꝰ & laboribus consumptis anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteret ne ieœptum: qm frustra erat: an fortunam expiretur qua sæpe prospera vsus fuerat.

Quæ quum multos dies noctesq; æstuās agitaret: forte quidam ligur ex cohortibus auxiliarijs miles gregarius aliquantulū egressus castris haud procul a latere castelli quod aduersum prælian tibꝰ erat: animadduertit inter saxa repētes cocleas quarum cū vnam atque

to eate ſuche ſnayles prepareddе after their manere: therfore he gathered firſt one and than an other/ and after that many: aſſendyng vp by lytell and lytell: ſomtyme creppyng ſomtyme clymyng/ for no nother intent or purpoſe ſaue togather ſuch ſnayles: and ſo farre he proceded by lytell and lytell tyll at laſt he came almooſt to the toppe of the mountayne. But whan he ſawe all that ſyde of the caſtell deſolat and no perſon ſterynge: anone he begane to haue a pleaſure and deſyre in his mynde for to worke ſome maiſtry/ as the propertie and condycion is of euery man couetyng to wyn a name/ laude and riches: and to be ſpoken of. But chance of fortune in the ſame place where the lumbard ſtode in this aduyſemēt/ among the ſtones grue a great and olde oke tre hauyng the myddes a tytell bowyng downe to warde the grounde: and the remanent crokyng vpwarde agayne with mighty armes and braunches aſcendyng to the hyeſt of the walles with the toppe erect and lyfted vp as euery herbe and tre of nature is wont to growe vpwarde at the toppe. This lumbard well aduyſed the ſame and aduentured to clyme vpwarde takyng his holde ſōtyme by the brāches and bowes of this oke: and ſomtyme takyng holde and leanynge by the ſtones which appereddē forth in the wall/ tyll at the laſt he attaynedde vnto the very toppe of the wall. And whan he ſawe no man ſtyrring on that part there ſtode he ſtyll eſpyed of no man and notedde and conſyderd well at his pleaſure all the inwarde part of the caſtell and the playne within the walles about the towre. This lumbard had ſomoche the more leaſour to take ſo longe aduyſement vneſpyedde for all the Numidyans defēders of the caſtell were on the other ſyde attendyng and gyueng hede to the aſſaut and defendyng thē ſelfe and the caſtell agaynſt the romayns. Whan the lumbard had eſpyed and cōſyderd euery thyng which he though might be auantage to his after purpoſe: than he deſcended agayne downewarde by the ſame way whych he aſcended: but nat wōuthedē nor with ſo lytell aduyſement as he aſcended vpwardē: but prouyng euery way/ and lokyng about yf it were poſſyble to bringe into the caſtell any cōpany of men by that ſyde or nat. This well conſyderedde allone as he deſcended: anone he went to Marius and informyng of euery thyng as he had done exhortyng and requiryng hym to put in proſe whether ꝑ caſtell might be won on ꝑ ſyde whey he had ben. Farthermor he proffyſed himſelf to be gyde vnto ſuch as wold vndertake ꝑ enterpriſe ſayeng ꝑ in the mater was no dāger. Mariꝰ herīg

alterū: deinde plures peteret ſtudio legendi paulati prope ad ſūmum mōtis egreſſus eſt.

Vbi poſtq̄ ſolitudinē intellexit more ingenij humani cupido difficilia faciundi animum vertit.

Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter ſaxa paululū modo prona: deinde flexa atq; aucta in altitudinē quo cūcta gignētū natura fert.

Cuius ramis modo: modo eminentibus ſaxis nixus Ligur caſtelli planiciem perſcripſit q̄ cūcti Numidæ intenti prælijs aderant.

Exploratis omnib' quæ mox vſui fore ducebat: eodem regreditur non temere vti aſcenderat: ſed tentans omnia et circūſpiciens.

Itaq; propere adit Marium: acta edocet: hortatur ab ea parte qua ipe deſcēderat caſtellū tēret: pollicetur ſe ducē itineris: periculiq; nihil eſſe. Marius cum ligure pro-

missa eius cognitū ex p̄sentibus misit: quoꝝ vti cuiusq; ingenium erat: ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciare.

Consulis tamen animus paululum arectus est. Itaq; ex copia tubicinū et cornicinum quinq; numero q̄ velocissimos delegit: et cū his præsidio qui forent quatuor centuriones omnesq; liguri patere iubet: et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

Sed vbi ex præcepto ducis tempus visum est paratis compositisq; oibus ad locum pergit. Cæterū illi qui cēturijs præerat edoctia duce arma ornatumq; mutauerunt capite atq; pedibus nudis vti profectus nixusq; per saxa facilius foret. Super terga gladijs et scuta: verum ea numidica excorijs pōderis gratia: simul et offēsa: quo leuius strepērēt. Igitur prægrediēs ligur saxa et si q̄ vetusta te radices eminabāt laq̄ is vitiebat quib⁹ alleuati milites facilius ascenderent: interdū timidos insolentia itineris leuare manu vbi paulo asperior ascensus erat singulos præ se inermes mittere. Deinde ipse cū illorū armis sequi q̄ dubia nixu videbātur potissimū tentare ac sæpius eadem ascendens et descēdens:

these wordes of the lūbard / sende forth with hym certayne of his men of them which were they present to vnderstande and knowe the trueth of the mater. Whan they had ben there and retourned to Marius agayne: some brought hym word that the mater was easy to do: and some other sayd that it was very harde and perylous. The sentence of euery man was after as their mynde gaue them. The cowardes thought it harde but suche as were of bolde hertes and desyrous of worshyppe thought it easy and without moche peryll. Neuertheless the mynde of Marius was somwhat exalted to cōfort / and good hope. Wherfore of all the company of trumpettes / and of other such mynstrelles as be wont to be in batayle to gyue courage and signes to ꝑ fighters / he chose forth fyue which were moost swyft and moost lyght and delyuer: and .iiii. hundred men he assigned to assyst and defende the sayd trūpettes. And all them he commaūded to obey to the lumbard and to be ruled and ordred by hym in euery thynge. The day next folowyng was assigned to them to procede forth in their besynesse. Whan the tyme assigned and prefixed by Marius was come the lumbard with his company had made redy and ordred euery thyng: and so went to the place where he had ben before. But whan they were come thyder: the lūbard their gyde caused thē to change their armour / and to make bare their heed / and their fete: to thintent ꝑ they so bare heded ꝑ better might se aboue them and on euery syde of them: and that they beyng bare fote myght labour somoche the better & take better holde in clymyng vp by the stones. Their swerdes were fastned behynd at their backes and their bucklers withall / which were made after the fassion of the numidyans bucklers of lether: bycause of lyghter weyght and burthen. And also to thintent ꝑ they shuld gyue lesse sounde or noyse / if it hapned any stone to smyte agaynst them. This done: the lūbard went vp before them / and bounde small cordes to the stones and to ꝑ olde rotes which apered aboue ꝑ stones where he coude espy any suche wherby the soudyours sustayning theselfe & takyng holde might more lightly and with more ease mount and clyme vpwarde. And somtyme he wēt before and helped them vp with his handes specially such and for ꝑ vncustomed way were somwhat ferefull. Sōtyme whan thascendyng or goyng vp was ouer harde and sharpe: he put ech of thē vp before hym without armour: and than he hymselfe folowed with the armour and weppyn. Suche places where moost dout was in: he spe-

cially

cially proued and assayd thē moost of all: and in goyng and comyng often tymes vp and downe by the same moost dangerous passages: he encreased audacyte and boldnesse to the remenant. Thus after they had ben sore wered/ and with long and great labour endeuored themselfe: at last they came into the castell/ which on that syde they founde desolate and without defence. For (as sayd is before) all they which were with in the castell were occupyed in fightyng/ or redy to fight agaynst the romayns: as they were on other dayes before. But whan Marius vnderstode by messangers how the lumbard had done: howbeit that all the day before his mē had ben sore belied and occupyed in fightynge: and assaylinge the castell. Neuertheles specially at this tyme he erhorted and enbolded them: and he hymselfe departyng forth from vnder his pauases raised his soudyours to adioyne themselfe nere togyder/ and to holde vp their sheldes aboue their heedes/ so that the contoyning of them semed as it were the frame of a bolt. Marius kept hym vnder the same for his defence/ and so approched to the walles. And both he and his company which were nere about hym valyantly assayled the castell: and also other of his company which stode a farre of and coude nat cōe nere the walles for preasse: assayledn the castell fiersly from a farre and sore vexed and put in feare their ennemies within the castell throwyng agaynst them plumettes of leed with slynges/ arowes/ dartes/ and all other maner engyns of batell: wherwith any thynge coude strongely be throwen into the castell. But the Numidyans within the castell had often before this tyme ouertourned and brent the tentes and pauases of the romayns and toke therby so great audacyte and boldnesse that they defended nat themselfe within the castell walles: but walked vp and downe without the castell walles bothe day and nyght reuilyng and reprouynge the romayns and obiectyng cowardyse agaynst Marius. And thretnyng that his soudyours shulde be made subgettes and bonde men to Jugurth in tyme to cōe/ whom they purposed at that tyme to make bonde to them. Thus whyle they thought theselfe sure and their mater in good case: they were harde and egar ynough reuyling and thretnyng the romayns. In the mean space whyle the romayns & their ennemies were belyest fightyng withall their might: the romayns for laude/ glorie/ and lordshyp: and the Numidyans for their helth and sauyng of their lyues. Anon sodenly the lumbard with his cōpany which were vnder the ca-

deinde statim di grediēs cæteris audaciā addere.

Igitur diu multumq; fatigati tandem in castellum perueniunt: defertū ab ea parte q̄ sicut alijs diebus oēs aduersum hostes aderant.

Marius vbi ex nūtijs ea quæ Ligur egerat cognouit q̄q̄ tota die intentos prælios suos habuerat: tum vero cohortatus est milites: et ipse extra vineas egressus testudine acta succedere: et simul hostem tormentis sagittarijsq; et funditoribus eminus terrere.

At Numidæ sæpe antea victis Romanorum subuersis item incensis non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur: sed pro muro dies noctesq; agitare: ac Romanis maledicere. Mario vecordiam obiectare: militebus nīis sertitium Iugurthæ minari: secūdis rebus feroces esse. Interim oibus romanis hostibusq; prælio intētis: vi vtrinq; pro gloria pro imperio hi: illis pro salute certantibus: repente a tergo signa canere:

ac primo mulieres et pueri qui visum processerãt fugere. Deinde vti quisq; muro proximus erat: postremo cũcti armati inermesq; : quod vbi accedit: eo acrius instare romani: fundere oc plerosque tantummodo saucia re. Deinde super occisorũ vadere corpora: auidi gloriæ: certãtes murum ascendere: neque quemq; omnium præda morari. Sic forte correpta Marij temeritas gloriã ex culpa inuenit.

stell on the backsyde ble we their trũpettes. First of all the women and chyldren which went to the walles to se the bykering were all abasshed and fledde in warde to the castell: and after thẽ all the soudyours which were wount & nerest to the walles and coude escape in. And finally they all both armed and vnarmed fledde in warde. Whan the romayns sawe this they assayled the castell more fiersly: some they slewe and ouerthrue some they wounded ouerpassyng or standyng vpon the bodyes of them which were slayne. All their desyre was with their handes to wynne glorie and worshyppe. They stryued to ascende vnto the walles euery mã couetyng to be before other. None of them all taryed nor was let with spoylyng: nor prayes. Their great courage suffred them nat to loke there after/ tyll by manhode and strength they had won the castell. Thus was fortune fauorable to Marius: so that his first neglygẽce and vnwyse boldnesse to assayle a castell inexpugnable/ was tourned by chance from rebuke to glorie and laude/ such was his fortune. But whan Marius had wonne this castell after estimacion of man nat able to be wonner than was he lorde of the mooste part of all the treasour of Jugurth: the castell was gyuen all to murdre and hauocke. And the soudyous of Marius richely rewarded euery man after his desert.

## Chow in the mene tyme whyle this castell was in wynnyng/ a noble man of Rome named Lucius Sylla: came from Rome to Marius with a great bende of horsmen: and of the maners and behauour of this Sylla. ¶The.lv.chapyter.

Cæterum dum ea res agitur: Lucius Silla questor cum magno equitatu in castra venit qui vti ex latio et socijs exercitũ cogere Romæ relictus erat

IN mean tyme whyle this fiers assaut and byctorie was concluded at this castell: a famous lorde of Rome named Lucius Sylla/ tresourer of the armye came from Rome to Marius with a great bende of horsmen. Whom the same Marius at his departyng from Rome had lefte their to rayse & assemble socours vnto the warre among the Italians and other nations frendes and louers of thempyre of Rome. ¶But forasmoche as the matter moueth vs to make mencyon of so worthy a man and of his dysposition & maners: therfore it semeth vnto me cõuenyent in this part sõwhat to write of his

Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit idoneum visum est de natura

of his behauour and conuersacyon: and that as brefely as I may conuenyently: namely for two causes. The first for that I intende nat to make relacion of his behauour and maners in any other place of this cronycle saue here. Secondly for almoch as non other authour hath written sufficyently of hym. For howbeit ꝑ one hystoriagraph named Lucius Syseña: wrote mooste dyligent and best of his actes of any other before neuertheles me semeth that he spake lytell acordyng to trueth nor indyfferently. For his tong nor penne were nat at lyberte for almoch as he was somwhat in danger to the sayd Sylla: wherby he was prohibyted to say or to write/ acordyng to the trueth. For what by fauour and what by fere he durst nat touche playnlie ꝑ vyces which were in hym. But here I purpose (all fauour and fere layd a part) indyfferētly to write of him.

¶ This Sylla of progeny: was descended of mooste noble stocke of the romayns. Howbeit the name of his aūcetry was almooste lost and decayed by dulnesse/negligence/and slouth of some of his lynage. In greke and in latten he was of lyke cōnyng: and exellētly seen in bothe the langages. His mynde was great/ and bolde of courage. Of voluptuous pleasours he was desyrous: but moch more desyrous of glorie ⁊ laude. In vacāt leser he was moch enclyned to ꝑ lustes of his body. But suche pleasure or voluptuousnes dyd neuer let nor withholde hym from any besynesse or ocupation necessary: howbeit such pleasure so blynded hym that he toke no wyse of byrth/ maners/ and honestie cōuenyent for his estate. He was moch eloquēt of spech crafty and subtyll ynough. He had the wayes easely to get frendshyp/ and it was also no maistry to get frēdshyppe of hym: in fayning/ dyssimulyng/ and counterfayting of besynesses: his wytte was very hye and exellent. He was a maruelous and incredyble gyuer of many thynges/ but specially of money: and before the warr and byctorie which the noble men of Rome: had agaynst the cōmen people. He was so noble and worthy reputed that it is in maner incredyble: nor his good fortune neuer passed the polycie of his wyt: in somoche that many men were in dout whyther he was more fortunate than strong. But after the byctorie of this warre: so vngoodly was his demeano' and so cruell/ that verily I know nat whyther I may more be asshamed or greued to write it or to speke therof. For after that this warre of numidy was ended: and both Marius and this Sylla were retourned to Rome: a great dyseorde fell bytwene the lordes and cōmens.

cultuque eius paucis dicere. Neq; enim alio loco de Syllæ rebus dicturi sumus. Et Lucius Sisenna optime et diligentissime omnium/ qui eas res dixere ꝓsecutus: parū mihi libero ore locutus videtur.

Igitur Sylla gētis patritiæ nobilis fuit: familia prope iam extincta maiorum ignauia.

Literis græcis atq; latīs iuxta atque doctissime eruditus animo ingēti cupidus voluptatū: ied gloriæ cupidior: ocio luxurioso esse tamen ab negotijs nūq; voluptas remorata ē nisi q; de vxore potuit honestius consuli.

Facundus callidus: et amicitia facilis: ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenij incredibilis multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniæ largitor atq; illi fœlecissimo omniū ante ciuilem victoriam nūq; super industriam fortuna fuit: multiq; dubitauere fortior an fœlicior esset.

Nam postea quæ fecerat incertum habeo: pudeat magis an pigeat disserere

Marius toke part with the commons: but Sylla toke part with the lordes and at last droue Marius forth of the cytie. After that: an other man of great power called Cynna which had ben fyue tymes consull of Rome gathered an hoost of me and toke part with Marius agaynst this Sylla. But at conclusion Sylla ouercame hym in batell: and slewe hym. After this: Sylla cruelly murdred an other noble man of Rome named Caius Carbo: & with hym ponge Marius/sone of this Marius which warred in numidy. Last of all whā this Sylla had won victorie ouer Maris and all his fauourers: than becāe he moost cruell of all other: in somoch that he fylled all the cytie with blode of the cytezins. But here wyll I leaue to speke farther of this Sylla/or of his behauour in cruelte: and returne to write of his behauour in this warre of numidy vnder Marius. ¶ After ỳ this Sylla (as I haue sayd before) was come to Affrike & to the hoost of Marius with his cōpany of horsmen: win short season he became moost expert in chyualry and crafty aboue all other: howbeit before this tyme he was but rude and ignorant of dedes of chyualrie. And moreouer he treted and gouerned his soudiours with maners and mekenes. And gaue rewardes to many: to some which desyred hym: and to some other of his owne pleasure non desyrig hym therto. But he wolde take no rewardes nor gyftes agayne/without it were agaynst his wyll. And if he so dyd at any tyme agaynst his wyll: than was he more redy to gyue agaie that which was gyuen to hym: than to pay that money which he had borowed of other. He demaunded nothyng agayne of any man though it were due and dette to hym: but rather he laboured and endeuored hymselfe that many myght be in his dette/and by suche meanes to haue them bounde to hym. And howbeit that he was one of the gretteste of Rome: yet disdayned he nat the company of the moost symple soudyours of the hoost: but cōmuned and acompanyed with them both in sportes and in sadnes. In labours he was alway redy. In batell and in watchynges with other besynes of warre he suffred no mā to be before him. Nor in the meane season he neyther hurt the good name of the cōsull nor of none other good mā: which thing men desyrous of worshyp & honour be often wont to do for in dispraysing of other they thinke to obtayne great laude to thēselfe. He onely laboured that none might passe hym neyther in counsell nor in myght/or manhode of his handes. But he passed many. By whiche maners and condycions in short

Igit Sylla (vt supra dictum est) postq̄ in Affricā atq; in castra Marij cum equitatu venit rudis ante et ignarus belli: solertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare: multis rogantibus alijs ipe per se dare beneficia: inuitꝰ accepere: sed ea properātius q̄ æs mutuum reddere ipse a nullo repetere:

magis laborare id vt illi q̄ plurimi deberent: ioca atque seria cum humillimis agere.

In operibꝰ: in acie atque ad vigilias multꝰ: adesse neq; iterim (quod praua ambitio solet) consulis aut cuiusq̄ boni famā lædere: tātūmodo cōsili neq; manu priorem aliū pati: plerosq; anteuenire. Quibus rebus & artibus breui Mario et militibꝰ

tyme he became very dere and well beloued/nat onely to Marius: but also to all the hoost. clarissimus factus est.

## ¶How Marius preuayled in batayle agaynst both the two kynges/Jugurth and Bocchus. ¶The.lvi.chapyter.

¶At Iugurtha postq̃ oppidum Capsam aliosque munitos & sibi vtiles simul et pecuniam magnã amiserat ad Bocchũ nũcios mittit q̃ primum in numidiam copias adduceret. Prælij faciendi tẽpus adesse. Quẽ vbi cunctari accepit: et dubium belli atq; pacis rationes trahere: rursus vti antea proximos ei ꝯ donis corrumpit.

BUt whan Jugurth had lost the towne of Capsa/ as is sayd before: and dyuerse other forteresses and other places defensyues which to hym were profitable. And also a great quantite of his treasour/ wherin he moost trusted. Inone he sent messangers to kyng Bocchus requiryng hym in all hast to come to numidy and to bryng his army with hym: sayng that it was hye tyme to make batayle with Marius. But whan he vnderstode that Bocchus prolonged the tyme in ouerlong taryeng/hauyng dyuers cõsyderations of peace and warre/ as he that was in dout of the chaunce and fortune of the ende therof. Jugurth agayne corrupted the next of his counsell with gyftes in lykewyse as he had done before: and promysed vnto the kyng Bocchus hymselfe/ the thyrde part of the kyngdome af numidy: if the romayns were dryuen out of Affrike/ or if the warre shulde be brought to ende without losse or deminisshyng of his kyngdome and marches therof. The kyng Bocchus induced with hope of this reward: with a great multytude of people came to Jugurth/and adioyned bothe their armies togyder in one. ¶At this tyme Marius with his company was in his iournay toward the prouynce which was in the coost of Affrike and apartayned to thẽpyre: where the sayd Marius purposed to rest with his company/ tyll the wynter were past. But whan he was in his iournay ꝛ in leest dout: Jugurth and Bocchus bothe togyder inuaded and set vpon hym and his men whan the tenth part of the day scarsly remayned. This dyd they: thynkinge that the nyght which was nere come shulde to them be great socour and defence if they were ouercome. And if they dyd ouercome the romayns: it shulde be to them no damage nor impedyment bycause they knewe the contrey and place better than the romayns. But on the other syde both these chaunces: in darkenesse were harde and contrary to the romayns: for they knewe nat

Ipsiq; Boccho pollicetur numidæ tertiam partem si aut romani aphrica expulsi aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Iugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu coniuncto Marium iam in hiberna proficiscentem vix decima parte diei relicta inuadunt: rati noctem quæ iam aderat et victis sibi munimento fore: et si vicissent: nullo impedimẽto: q̃ locoꝝ sciẽtes erãt.

Cõtra romanis vtrumq; casum in tenebris difficí

lem fore. Igitur ſimul cō ſul ex multis de hoſtium aduentu cognouit et ipi hoſtes aderant et priusq̄ exercitus aut inſtrui aut ſarcinas colligere: denique ante q̄ ſignaum aut imperium vllum accipere quiuit. Equites mauri atq; getuli: non acie neq; vllo more prælij: ſed caterua tim vti quosq; fors cōglobauerat: in noſtros concurrunt. Qui omnes trepidi improuiſo metu: attamen virtutis memores: aut arma capiebant: aut capiētes illos ab hoſtibus defenſabant. Pars equos aſcēdere obuiam ire hoſtibus pugna latrocinio magis q̄ prælio ſimilis fieri: ſine ſignis: ſine ordinibus equites peditesq; pmiſtis cædere alios:

alios obtrūcare: multos contra aduerſos acerrie pugnantes ab tergo circūnenire: neq; virtus: neque arma ſatis tegere: q; hoſtes numero plures et vndiq; circumfuſi erant. Deniq; romani veteres: nouiq; et ob ea ſcientes belli ſi quos locus aut caſus cōiunxerat: orbes facere.

Atque ita ab oīb⁹ partibus ſimul et tecti et inſtructi hoſtiū vim ſuſtēnabāt.

Neq; ī eo tā aſpero negotio Marius territus: aut

the cooſtes of that countrey. Marius anone had vnderſtandyng of the cōmyng of his ennemies by many of his eſpyes: but it was ouer late. For aſſone as he had worde: his ennemies were euyn at hande. In ſomoch that before the armye coude be ſet in order or aray: and or they coude remoue or gather togyder their baggage which at that tyme was abrode: and before they coude take any cōmaundemeut of their captayne by worde or ſounde of trumpettes. The horſemen of the Mozians and of the Getulyans ranne togyder vpon them nat in order nor aray of batayle: but by companyes and bendes togyder/ as it fortuned them to come togyder in heapes and cluſters. The romayns for the mooſt part: were all amaſed and greuouſly abaſſhed for that ſodayne and vnprouyded feare. Neuertheleſſe they forgate nat their olde manhode & ſtrēgth ſome drue them to their armour: and other ſome which were armed alredy defended their felawes tyll they armed thēſelf. Other ſome mounted on horſebacke and boldly rode agayneſt their ennemies: and encountredde and met them valyantly. The fight on both ptyes was more lyke a ſkirmyſſhe among brigandes and rouers than to any apoynted or ordred batell. For the horſmen and fotemen were remēgled togyder without ſtanderdes/ cognyſances/ or any ordynaunce: aray/ or order. The Mauryans and Numidyans were fierſe on their ſyde. Some of the romayns they beate downe and ouerthrewe. Some they wounded mortally. And many they bereft vtterly of their lyues/ and ſlewe them in that place. The remenant which ſharpely and manly reſyſted and withſtode: they compaſed them about one euery ſyde: and aſwell behynde as before aſſayled them: ſo that neyther manhode/ ſtrength/ nor armour: was able ſufficiently to defende them. And no maruell for their ennemies were mo in nombre than they: and compaſed them about on euery ſyde of thē. But finally the romayne ſoudyours which were bothe of olde and newe: and therfore both ſtronge/ bolde/ and craftie in batayle: gathered them as nere togyder as they might. And where it fortuned any nombre of thē to mete togyder: they tourned backe to backe. And ioyned thē rounde one with an other in maner of a compaſſe or cercle: and ſo they ſaued and defended themſelfe togyder ſo that on the backehalfe no man coude aſſayle them: but yf he drake in throngh the myddes of them which was in maner impoſſyble. By this maner they ſuſtayned and abode the might of their ennemies: and alſo ſaued thēſelf. For their captayne

Marius

Marius in this ieopardous and sharpe besynes was nat afrayed at all/ nor of lesse corage and boldnesse than he was before: but styred about euery where in the batell. And his men of garde about hym whõe he had ordayned and chosen rather of the strongest and boldest men of the hoost/ than of such as were moost familyer with hym. For he set more by the audacyte of them/ than by the familyarite of the other: and namely in suche a ieopardous case. Somtyme he socoured his soudyours in their nede/ or suche as he sawe in paryll. And sõtyme he ranne in among his ennemies: where they were thyckest. And nat withstandyng their resystence he assayled thẽ valyantly: and wounded ful twe/ and ouerthrue them on euery syde he dyed his weapen in the reed blode of the blacke maurysans and getulysans. And bycause that in so harde a case: and in so great and troublous noyse and rumour: he coude nat cõsell nor cõfort his soudyours with his tong: therfore he thought to counsell/ incorage/ and confort them with his hande: gyueing them exãple surely to helpe we their honious strokes. Many of his ennemies fell he to hell cryeng in vayne vpon their ydolles for helpe. The dartes/ tamelyns pykes/ plũmettes of leed/ stones: with other such instrumentes of batell were cast so thicke on both parties: that the ayre therwith was endymmed. The strokes were so cruelly charged on the bright helmes and harnesse/ that the fyre sprãge out on euery syde: so þ it semed to be þ lightnyng: the cry of the men dyeng: the neyeng of horses: and þ dyn of the strokes/ with the sounde of the trumpettes: was horrible and tedyous to here. Thus cõtynued they tyll the daylight was passed/ and the nyght was cõe. The numidyans/ getulysans/ and maurysans dayly sted nor ceassed nothing for that. But as both Jugurth and Bocchus before had warned and cõmaunded them: they contynued more sharpely than before/ thinkyng that the darknesse of þ night shulde be for their auãtage. Marius this vnderstãdyng toke counsell and made best prouysion for hys socoure: as his nede: whych he might in such case: and as the mater required. And to the entent that his people might haue some place to resort vnto for their refuge & socours: he prouyded before and occupyed two hylles nere vnto them: whõe the one was ouermarueilous of hye stell grounde to the ryue his hole cõpanyes: but in the top therof was a fayre fount ayne & plenteous water mochynecessarie. The other hyll was sufficient thy large to receyue his hole hoost and tentes: and also very defensyue: for it was of a great alty



magis q̃ antea dimisso animo fuit: sed cũ turma sua quam ex fortissimis: magis q̃ ex familiarissimis pauerat:

Vagari passim ac modo suis laborãtibus succurrere: modo hostes vbi cõfertissimi obsisterant inuadere:

manu cõsulere militibus quoniã imperare cõturbatis oibus nõ poterat.

Iamq; dies consumptus erat cum tamẽ hostes nihil remittere: atq; vt reges præceperant extra tela pro se quisq; arma intueri.

Tum Marus ex copia rerum consilia trahit: atq; vti suis receptui locus esset: colles duos propinquos inter se occupat. Quorũ in vno castris parũ amplo fons aquæ magnus erat: alter vltra opportunior: quia magna parte editus et præceps pauca munimenta requirebat.

Cæterum apud aquã Syllã cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet. Ipse dispsos melites paulatim nõ minus hostibus cõturbatis in vnum contrahit. Deinde cũctos pleno gradu in collem subducit.

tude and dowe right on euery syde. In somoch that they whi che shulde take that hyll were sure ynough without great defence of themselfe: for nature had it sufficiently defended. This well cõsydred: Marius cõmaunded Sylla his vndertapten to take with hym all ꝑ hoꝛsmen: and to tarey that night about the smaller hyll where the fountayne was. This done: he hym selfe gathered togyder by lytell and lytell the remanent of his soudyours which were dyspsed abꝛode: their ennemies being nat lesse troubled than wer they. Whan Marius had thus assembled agayne his men togyder he led thẽ all with full courg vp vnto the larger hyll. Thus the two kynges Jugurth and Bocchus seyng it vayne to fyght with the which were on the hyer ground/ and also on so sure a place: were constrayned to leaue ꝑ fight: for dyfficulte of the place which ꝑ romayns had taken. But neuertheles in ꝑ mean tyme they suffred nat their men to depart fare thens: but cõpased both the hylles counde about with their hole multytude and there taryed and reſted/ shed abꝛode vpon the ground. Whan they had taken their place in this maner: thei made great fiers here and there in many places of their hooſt: and ꝑ barbarians after their custõe passedforth the mooſt part of the night in myrth/ pleasure/ gladnes/ reioysing/ daunsyng: and makyng great noyse & dynne with their fete: rennyng and goyng from place to place: and loudly crieng/ synging and reuellyng. The kynges themselfe were also nat a lytell proude and feaſte: by cause they had nat fledde from the batell: and counted themselfe as ouercomers seyng that they held the romayns so besieged which as they thought durſt nat abyde them. On the other partie the romayns intendyfly gaue aduertens to the demeanour of their ennemies. And for that ꝑ romayns were on the right of the hyll and without light: therfore more easily cõ darknesse of lyer places they parceyued all the dedes and behauiour of their ennemies which were beneth thẽ: and moche more easyly by light of the fyers. This dowble behauiour of the numidyans put the romayns in great confort and was great rout ageins them. And spetially Marius was greatly confermed in hope seyng their negligence/ their folly/ and vnconsyderyng: wherfore he cõmaunded his folke to kepe ly knes as stylle as might be possible without any noyse. In somoch that he suffred nat the trũpets to sounde he watch: as warely as was nigh vnto night. After warde whan the day began to apere: the dill mid pans were al weryed w̃ their cryeng/ dwerlate watchyng

Deinde crebris ignibus factis plerũq; noctis barbari more suo lætari/ exultare: strepere pedibus: vocibus: et ipsi reges feroces q̃ non fugerãt pro victoribus agere.

Sed ea cũcta romanis ex cẽpdeis editioribus locis frontis visu magnoꝝ hostium erant

Plurimum vero Marius imperfecta hostium cõsilia mirabatur: quippe qui nunquam ferme aliam nisi fugientium aut capti vi aciem videret. Deinde vbi lux aduentabat: defessis iam hostib?

and

and reuell: and had gyuen theselfe to rest a lytell before as men wout fere or dout of the romayns. But certely it is a true prouerbe which is often sayd: that after fayre wether succedeth tē pestious cloudes: and after myrth & iope often cometh sadnes and sorowe. So it happened to þ numidyans. For whyle they ingorged & fylled with wynes lay slepyng on the grounde as beestes without fere and wout puision: Marius cōmaūded sodenly all his trumpets & clarionystes with other mynstrels to sound their instrumētes as shyrle as they coude altogyder and that all his soudyours shulde set vp a shout or cry as horribly as they might: and with that inuade and breke into the tentes of the numidyans. This was shortly done: wherfore þ numidyans/ maurys/ and getulyans astonyed and abasshed with that vnknowen and horryble noyse: were sodenly awakened of sleape: and seyng them thus compased w̄ their ennemies: what for feare of deth and of the noyse they were so amased that they had no power neyther to fle nor to drawe to them their armour/ nor vtterly to do or prouyde any maner socour for themselfe. Thus they stode astonyed for this horryble noyse and cry as yf madnesse had entred them: none able to socour hymselfe nor other. The romayns alway increased to them their noyse and feare assayling/ murdring/ and wounding them without any resystence. Finally all they were outher ouerthrowen/ slayne/ or wounded: or els fledde their armour/ standerdes and weapens left behynde the: and mo were in this batayle slayne than in all the batels before. For amonge the all none was taken prisoner: for with feare & sleape so amased were they/ that few we escaped by flight.

ac pauloante somno captis: de improuiso victigales: item cohortū turmarum: legionum tubicines simul omnes tuba cauere et milites clamorē tollere aut portis erumpere.

Mauri atque getuli igno to atq; horribili sonitu repente exciti neque fugere neq; arma capere ne qomnino facere aut prouidere quicq̄ poterāt: ita cunctos strepitu clamore nullo subueniēte: nīs īstātibus: tumultus terrore: formidine: quasi vecordia acceperat.

Denicq; omnes fusi fugatiq; arma et signa militaria pleraq; capta: plures q̄ in eo prælio q̄ omnib⁹ superioribus interempti sunt. Nam sūno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

## Of the great prouysion and wysdome of Marius after his victory: and of the seconde batayle which he had agaynst the two kynges/ in which also he had great victorie with great laude and honour. ¶ The.lvii. chapyter.

When Marius had gloriously thus ouercōe the moost part of his ennemies except the two kynges: he dyde hym than to wayte his wyntrig places as he had purposed before. And ordred hymselfe and his men specially in hauen to owes by-

¶ Deinde Marius vt ceperat in hyberna it propt comeatū in oppidis martimis agere decreuit: neque tamē victoria secura

aut insolens factus: sed pariter ac si in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incederet.

Sylla cū equitatu apud dextimos: in sinistra parte Aulus Manlius cū fūditoribus et sagittarijs: præterea cohortes liguꝝ curabat. Primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locauerat. Perfugæ regionum sciātissimi hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul quasi nullo impositio omnia prouidere apud omnes adesse: laudare fortis: et increpare mœrentis. Ipse armatus intētusq. Item milites cogebat neq; secus atq; iter faceret castra munire: excubitū in porta cohortes ex legionibus: pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere præterea alios i munimentis sup vallum locare vigilias ipse circūire: non tā diffidentia futurum quæ imperauisset q̄ vti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset.

Et sane Marij illo alijsq; tribus iugurthinis bellis magi; pudore q̄ malo exercitū coercebat, quod multi p ābitionē alebāt alij q; aperitia cōsuetā duritiam: et alij q̄ cæteri

cause of more easy pursion of vytels: but neuertheles: in his tournay thider warde: for all his vyctorie he became nat negligent/ vnware/ nor proude (as captayns often ar wont after vyctorie goten of their ennemies: but he prouyded and went forwarde with his army quadrat and deuyded into four partes ordred & apoynted as if his ennemies had ben in his sight Sylla was assigned to take charge of the right wyng of the army and all the spear men with hym. And Aulus Manlius of the lyft wyng. And with hym þ slyngars/ archars and the cohortes of Lumbardes. The petycaptayns with fotemen of light harneſſe: were dystributed and dyuided in the vantgarde and rerewarde. Of the treatours whiche had forsaken Jugurth and came to the romayns: such as were best laboured and knewe best the vntrey/ were chosen forth and sent out to espy the contrey and wayes of Jugurth and Bocchus. But nat withstandyng Marius hymselfe was as prouydent/ circūspect/ and dilygent withall: as if he had cōmytted the charg to none other. He was mouyng cōtinually from place to place ouer all the army: laudyng/ cōmendyng/ and rewardyng the good soudyours: and blamyng and rebukyng the bad he himselfe armed/ and dyligently prouidyng and mynystring vnto them euery thing necessary and expedyent: and cōpelled them that were frowarde and vnwillyng to labour. In euery place where he set his tentes in his iournay: he ordred defence with depe dyches & trenches rounde about his hoost. And in the entres of the tentes he assigned soudyours elect therto to kepe watch: some to kepe sure watch about the tentes in cōpasse. Moreouer some other he ordred on the easyer vpge of the dyches and on outwarde bulwarkes to defende the remanent if any sodayne peryll apered. He hymselfe armed nightly wēt about and serched the watch. Nat specially for any feare nor mystrust of any paryll to come nor forfeare that his soudyours wolde nat obey his cōmaundement. But þt by þis dylygent that the soudyours seyng their captaynes at refusyng labour nor paryll: should be also more wyllyng to folowe & same & to take payne vpon them self & ashamed if they dyd nat almoch as their capten. And certēly at this tyme & at many other dutyng this warr/ as I rede/ Marius kept & vsed his soudyours to labour rather with shame than with oppressyon & punysshyng. For shame rysyth to the feruant to be pore vnto the maister for labour/ etc. Howbeit some saye that Marius took this labour vpon hym for the despyte of cōmendation and worshyp he had

that

that from his youth he was euer wont with hardnesse/ hunger/ thyrst/ and labour: and many other thynges whiche the delycate gentylmen of our tyme cowrt for mysteries. But to Marius were these hardnesses moche pleasure and delyte for affectyon which he had agaynst the commen wayle/ as equall persones supposed. But to what euer intent Marius treated his army in this wyse: it was knowen that his dedes dyd asmoche profet and worshyppe to the commen wayle of Rome: as if he had more rigorously and sharpely treated his soudyours. For all thynges were ordred well and worthely for the honour and profet of the commen wayle: as if he had more rigorously treated his army.

¶ But to retourne to my purpose: whan Marius with suche dyligence as sayd is: was come nat farre from the towne of Cyrtha/ at the last the fourth day after the forsayd batayle: the espyes of their ennemies appered on euery syde. The romais vnderstode anone therby that their ennemies were at hande. The espyes of the romayns also which were sende forth: brought the same tidynges from euery coost of the countrey. Marius parceyued that his ennemies were in dyuerse companyes and deuyded: wherfore he was vncertayne how he myght best order his hoost to receyue thē. And therfore parceyuinge it vnsure: how to order the forfront of his batayle as it ought: he abode his ennemies in the same place no order chaunged with his hoost deuyded in .iiii. partes (as sayd is) as he whiche was redy and prouyded for euery chaunce. Thus was Iugurth disceyued and frustrate of his purpose. For he had deuyded his hoost into four partes trustynge to inuade some of the Romayns on the backehalfe with parte of his army: and with an other part to encoūter with them/ and with the other two partes to enclose them on both the sydes: and so to enuyron them rounde about. In the mean tyme Sylla which first encountred with Iugurth exhorted and conforted his men as well as he might for bryefnesse of the tyme. That done: anone he proceded with his company by bendes and clustres togyder/ their horses contoyned in the moost thyckest maner: and so fiersly assayled the Maurysans. The remanent of the fotemen which were vnder Sylla: remayned and kept themselfe styll in their first place: and defēded their bodyes from the dartes which their ennemies thrue agaynst thē from farre of. But yf it chaunsed any of their ennemies to cōe bytwene their handes: they hewed them downe to decrease and inlesse their nombre.

miserias vocāt: voluptati habuisset: nisi tñ reip. pariter ac sæuissimo imperio bene atq; decore oia gesta sunt.

Igitur quarto deniq; die haud lōge ab oppido Cirtha vndiq; simul speculatores citi sese ostēdunt. Quare hostis adesse itel legitur. Sed quia diuersi redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant: consul incertus quonāmodo aciē instrueret: nullo ordine cōmutato: aduersum oia paratus ibidem opperit.

Ita Iugurthæ spes frustrata qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat ratus ex oibus æque alios ab tergo hostibus venturos.

Interim Sylla quem primum hostes attigerāt cohortatus suos turmatim q̄ maxie confertis equis ipse alijq; mauros inuadunt:

Cæteri in vno loco manētes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpera tegere: et si qui in manus venerāt obtruncare.

Dū eo modo equites præliantur Bocchus cum peditibus quos Volux filius eius adduxerat neque in priore pugna in itinere morati affuerant: postremam aciem romanoꝝ inuadit:

¶ Whyle Sylla and his horsmen thus fiersly were fightyng on the right wyng of the batell. The kyng Bocchus assēbled togyder the fotemen whō his son named Volur/ had brought thyder with hym. These fotemē had such impedymēt in their iournay thyderward ꝑ they came ouerlate to the other batell which was last foughten before this. wherfore Bocchus: whā he had assembled and inbolded with his wordes these freshe fotemen: with them he assayled fiersly the rereward or ꝑ romayns.

Tū Marius apud primos agebat: q̄ ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis erat.

¶ In the meane tyme Marius hymselfe was occupyed in the forwarde of his hoost & there imployed his wysdom and strength/ as a valyant and worthy captayne: and so stode it hym in hande. For in the forwarde Jugurth hymselfe with his grettest power and strongest company of men inbatayled with hym.

Deinde numida cognito Bocchi aduentu clam cū paucis ad pedites cōuertit: ibi latine (nam apud numātiam loqui didicerat) exclamat nr̄os frustra pugnare: ante paulo Marium sua manu interfectū: simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nr̄o cruentauerat. Quod vbi milites accepere magꝝ atrocitate rei q̄ fide nuntij terrātur: simulq; barbari animos extollere et in perculsos acrius intēdere.

¶ But after that Jugurth knewe of the cōpyng of Bocchus to the felde: anone he turned hym with a small cōpany about hym prtiuely vnto the fotemen of the romayns: and there with an hye voyse he cryed vnto thē with a lowde exclamation/ sayng ꝑ they fought but in vayne. For a lytell before (as he sayd) he had slayne Marius with his owne handes. And in cryeng these wordes he lyfted vp withall/ and shewed his swerde all ouerspryncled & dyed with blode: which he had so coulloured in the batell fiersly ynough in murdryng the fotemen of the romayns. These wordes Jugurth cryed in latyn tong. For he had lerned to speke latyn longe before in the batayle of Numance. Whan the romayns harde these wordes they were affrayed/ but more for crueltie of the noyse: than for any confidence or trust which they had to the messanger. But on the otherside the myndes of the barbaryans were bolded and exalted by these wordes: by reason wherof more sharpely they inuaded the romayns/ seyng them abashed and astonyed. And nowe were ꝑ romayns of the forwarde at that poynt that they were redy to gyue thēselfe to flyght: as men discouraged for the sayd tydynges.

Iamq; paululū a fuga aberant cum Sylla (profligatis his quos aduersū ierat) rediens mauris ab latere incurrit.

¶ Whatie they were at this poynt: it fortuned so at the same tyme that Sylla had beaten and ouerthrowen the maurysans which inuaded and assayled hym on the right wyng of the batayle: wherfore he retourned to his cōpany and fiersly assayled the freshe fotemen which were with Bocchus/ and at one syde brake in among the thyckest of thē. But Bocchus anone tourned his backe: and gaue hymselfe to flyght.

Bocchus fugā aduertit. At Iugurtha dum sustenet

¶ On the otherside Jugurth whiche in his part of the batell almoost had obtayned byctorie/ dyde his dilygence to incou-

rage

rage and ſuppoꝛt his cõpany: and to mentayne that auãtage which he had goten. And at cõcluſion all in vayue. Foꝛ whyle he laboured there about as a woꝛthy captayne: the ſpeaꝛ men of the romayns ſo compaſed hym and his cõpany about both on the right ſyde and on the lyft: that all his garde and other which wer about hym at concluſion were ſlayne. But he hym ſelfe gladly to ſaue his lyfe/ bꝛake foꝛth alone from among the myddes of his ennemies: and from weppyns and dartes with great dyfficulty.

¶ But in the mean tyme Marius had ouercome and dꝛiuen away the hoꝛſmen which aſſayled hym. Wherfoꝛe anone he returned fiercly to helpe and ſocours of his company whom he vnderſtode ſomwhat put backe by vyolẽce of their ennemies. But he by his polycie and valyant dedes anone ſo recõfoꝛted his men ꝑ none of his ennemies were able to withſtãde their vyolence in any part of that batayle.

¶ Thus finally the romayns after great laboure and many greuous woundes dyſconfited their ennemies on euery ſyde. But whan the batayle was ended and the romayns began to purſue the chaſe: than verily it was a pytefull and hoꝛryble ſyght to beholde in the open feldes and to conſyder the cruell ſpectacle of batayle. How ſome fledde. Some purſued/ ſome inraged murdꝛing/ ſome roꝛed dyeng/ ſome ſlayne/ ſome taken pꝛiſoners. The hoꝛſe and men mengled togyder: labouring in the panges of deth. The ground ouerſpꝛed with deed coꝛpſes mangled/ mutulate/ and hoꝛrible hewyn: inuolued in blode congeled. The hoꝛſe wounded: as madde dꝛewe after them the deed carcaſes of their maiſters/ their legges hangyng in the ſtyꝛopes/ and their ſpeares halfe thoꝛowe their boꝛdyes trayling after in the duſt. The courſers wounded and fleyng caſt vp with their fete the duſt tempered with blode rennyng ouer the deed bodyes of their loꝛdes. Many of the Numidyans which were ſoꝛe wounded coude neyther fle: noꝛ be ſuffred to take reſt on the ground. Somtyme they laboured to ryſe and auoyde: and anone after foꝛ febleneſſe fell downe to the grounde agayne: eche rowlyng and turnyng in others blode. And finally: as farre as any mannes ſyght myght extende/ all the grounde was ouerſpꝛed and couered with armour/ wepaen/ and deed carcons the rennyng of blode. And all the grounde infect wꝫ the ſame: thyng hoꝛryble to beholde.

tare ſuos: et prope iã adeptam victoriam retinere cupit circumuẽtus ab equitibus dextra ſiniſtraque omnibus occiſis: ſolus inter tela hoſtium vitabundus erupit.

Atq; interim Marius fugatis equitibus occurrit auxilio ſuis quos pelli iam acceperat.

Deniq; hoſtes iam vndiq; fuſi ſunt: tum ſpectaculum horribile in campis patentibus.

Sequi/ fugere/ occidi/ capi/ equi atque viri afflicti: ac multis vulneribus acceptis: neq; fugere poſſe: neq; quietem pati:

niti modo ac ſtatim concidere:

Poſtremo omnia quã viſus erat conſtrata telis: armis/ cadaueribus/ & interea humus infecta ſanguine:

## ¶ How Bocchus after that he was twyse ouercome in batell/ purposed to make peace with the romayns: and how at his request Marius sende vnto hym Sylla and Manlyus to knowe his mynde in that behalfe. ¶ The.lviii.chap.

¶ Posta loci cõsul haud dubie iam victor puenit in oppidum Cyrthã quo in initio profectus intẽderat: eo post quintũ diẽ quem iterũ barbari male pugnauerant legati a Boccho veniunt qui regis verbis ab Mario petiere: duos q̃ fidissimos adeũ mittere: velle de suo et de populi romani cõmodo cum his differere. Ille statim Lucium Syllã/ & Aulum Manliũ ire iubet. Qui q̃q̃ accíti íbant tamen placuit verba apud regem facere: quo ingenium aut aduersum fieret: aut cupidum pacis vehemẽtius accenderent.

Itaq; Sylla cuius facundiæ non etati a Nanlio cõcessum est: verba pauca huiuscẽodi locutus ẽ.

Rex Bocche magna nobis lætitia est: cum te talem virũ diis monuerit vt aliquãdo pacem q̃ bellã malles neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Iugurtha miscendo cõma-

After that this batell was thus ended to the vtter dãmage and dystruction of the numidyans: and to the laude and honour of the romayns. Marius was nowe without dout ouercomer and byctour and went vnto the towne of Cirtha as his iourney and purpose was at first begynnyng/ before these two batayls. Whan Marius had soiourned thyr fyue dayes after this batayle: there came vnto hym imballadours from kynge Bocchus. Which in their kynges behalfe desyred of Marius to sende vnto hym two of the mooste trusty men which he had: sayng that he wolde cõmen and treate with them of dyuers besynesses both for his owne profet/ and for profet and auantage of the romayns also. Marius without tary sende forth Sylla for one: and Aulus Manlius for an other. Whan they were come to kyng Bocchus: howbeit he had sende for them to cõmen with them in his maters. Neuertheles it was cõcluded bytwene them to speke to hym first to thentent to kyndell and inflame his mynde the more agaynst Jugurth: or elis seyng hym somwhat desyrous and wylynge to haue peace to prouoke hym with more desyre therto. Wherfore Sylla (to whom Manlyus gaue place nat for his age, but for his eloquence) began and spake to Bocchus in maner: as followeth.

## ¶ Of the wordes of Sylla tresourer of the romayne armyy had before kyng Bocch⁹. The.lix.cha.

Jug Bocchus we haue great gladnes and ioye syth it is so that the goddes haue thus admonyssyed and enspired you so noble a man that at last ye haue reputed peace beter and more acceptable than warre: lest ye myght dyshonest and defyle your worthynesse by associatyng your selfe to the mooste

mooſt vnhappy tyran Jugurth. And alſo we ar glad that ye haue auoyded the occaſion and neceſſite: wherby we wer mo ued to purſue in batayle: you: beyng ignorant of our quatell: and in the company of the ſayd mooſt curſed Jugurth: tyran and ennemy to thempyre of Rome. And certenly the people of Rome euer ſyth their pooze/ ſymple/ & ſmall begynning haue thought it better to wyn frendes than ſeruantes oz bondmen and alſo they haue thought it a moch ſurer thyng to haue vn der their empyre ſuch as wyllingly and of their owne mocyon wolde yelde themſelfe: than ſuch as they haue conſtrayned therto agaynſt their wyll. But verily no frendſhyp is moze ne ceſſary to you than our ampte oz frendſhypp. And firſt of all: bycauſe we and ye be fary in ſonder: wherby we ſhall haue les power to greue you/ oz to put you to any charge: by reaſon of our frendſhyp. But our fauour and thankes may be as redy to you: as if we were nere togyder: cõſydering the many and great frendes which we haue nat farre from your marcheſſe. And alſo vnto thempyre of Rome be obeyers/ ſubgettes/ and ſeruantes abundantly. But as touchyng louers and frendes we noz none other can haue ſufficyently ynough. Foz this conſyderation kyng Bocchus your frendſhyp ſhalbe the moze ac ceptable vnto vs. And wolde god it had pleaſed you thus to haue done at ꝑ begynning of this warr. Foz ſoth if ye had ſo done: than ſhulde ye before this tyme haue receyued of the ro mayns mo cõmodyties/ auantages/ and good dedes than ye haue nowe ſuffred loſſe/ damages/ oz hurtes. But whyle it is ſo that mannes dedes and beſyneſſes (foz the mooſt part) be ruled by foztune: to which foztune it hath pleaſed that ye ſhul de both proue and aſſay our myght and vyolence in batayle: and alſo our loue and fauour in peace. Therfoze nowe ſyth a myte is proferred to you by ſuffraunce of foztune: and ſyth it is laufull to you to take it: be nat ſlowe from hens fozwarde/ but haſtely procede as ye haue begon: that ye may proue ꝑ ro mayns frendes to you lyke as ye haue proued them ennemies before this tyme. ye haue many expedyent opoztunites & neceſ ary cõmodytes by whome ye may make amendes with your good dedes foz ꝑ which ye haue offended agaynſt the romais and ouerpaſſe your olde fautes with newe kyndneſſes & bene fites. and finally fix this in your hert ꝑ ye oz any other ſhall ne uer ouercõe the people of Rome with kyndnes oz good dedes. And as touchyng their hatered/ & of what myght they ar in ba tell: ye your ſelfe knowe that by profe & experience. Wherfoze

culares. Simul nobis de meres acerbam neceſſitu dinem: pariter et te errã tem et illum ſceleratiſſi mum pſequi. Ad hoc po pulo romano iam a prin cipio inopi: melius viſũ amicos q̃ ſernos quærere tutiusq; rati volentibus q̃ coactis imperitare.

Tibi vero nulla opportu nior amicitia noſtra: pri mum q; procul abſumus in quo offenſæ minimum eſt: et gratia par ac ſi pro pe adeſſemus deide q; pa rẽtes abunde habemus.

Amicorum neq; nobis ne que cuiq̃ hoim ſatis fuit Atque hoc vtinam tibi a principio placuiſſet: pro fecto ex populo romano ad hoc tẽpus multo plu ra bona accepiſſes: q̃ ma la perpeſſus eſſes.

Sed quoniam humanaꝝ rerum fortuna pleraque regit: cui ſcilicet placuit vim et gratiam noſtram te experire nunc quoniã per illam licet feſtina at q; vti cœpiſti perge.

Multa opportuna habes quo facilius errata offi ciis ſuperes: poſtrẽo hæc in pectus tu um demitte nunq̃ popu lum romanũ beneficiis victum eſſe. Nam bello q̃ valeat tute ſcis.

procede in acquiryng of their frendshyp: which gladly shalbe graunted vnto you/ if your merytes shall so deserue.

## ¶ Of the answere of Bocchus made to Sylla: and of the vnstablenesse of mynde of the same Bocchus. ¶ The.lx. chapyter.

¶ Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: se non hostili animo. sed ad regnum tutādum arma cepisse. Nam numidiæ partē vnde Iugurtham expulerit iure belli suam factam: eā vastari a Mario pati nequiuisse.

TO these wordes of Sylla answered Bocchus myldely and sobarly: and a fewe wordes he spake in excusing his offēce done agayne the romayns/ sayeng that he had nat taken armour nor begon batell agaynst the romayns in purpose as ennemy to do iniury or wrong vnto them: but to defende his owne kyngdome. And that the thyrde part of Numidy belonged vnto hym by lawe of armes: of the which the romayns laboured to expell Jugurth. And in that doyng they distroyed his part of the contrey: which he coude nat suffer vnreuenged. Moreouer Bocchus sayd for hymselfe that he had sende vnto Rome before to requite ampte and frendshyppe of the romayns: which thyng vnto hym was denyed. But at conclusyon he sayd: that he wolde omyt and lay a part all olde malyce and that althyng shuld bedone and agreed by twene them: yf Marius wolde graunt hym that his embassadours might be sende to Rome for the sayd frendshyppe to be confederate with the romayns. Upon this answere Sylla and his felawe retourned to Marius: which anone agreed ỹ the same embassadours shulde be sent to Rome. But shortly after: what tyme Jugurth vnderstode of the commynge of Sylla and Manlyus he feared the same thyng/ whiche was ordende and in hande. And anone with rewardes so he corrupted the frendes of Bocchus: that agayne they chaunged his mynde with their counsell: so mutable and varyable was he of mynde.

Præterea missis antea romam legatis repulsū ab amicitia. Cæterum vetera omittere: actum si per Marium liceret legatos ad senatum missurum.

Deinde copia facta mittendi animus barbari ab amicis flexus quos Iugurtha cognita legatione Syllæ et Manlij metuens id quod parabat donis corruperat.

## ¶ How Bocchus chaūged his purpose yet ones agayne: and sende newe embassadours to Marius to treat of the peace: and howe Sylla receyued and treated them in absence of Marius. ¶ The.lxi. chapyter.

IN the meane tyme Marius let ꝛ ordred his hoost in their wyntring places and toke with hym suche men as were of light harnesse: and also a part of his horse men: ꝛ with thē went into a desart nat fa chens/ to besyge a certayne towre belong yng to Jugurth: into which towre ꝓ sayd Jugurth had put for garnyson and defence: all the treatours which had forsaken and fledde from the romayns/ and ranne to Jugurth. But in the meane whyle Bocchus of newe agayne consydred in mynde/ the myserable fortune whiche had happened to hym in the two batayls before. Wherfore by counsell of some o ther of his frendes: whom Jugurth had nat corrupted with rewardes: he chose forth among all his frendes. v. men whose fydelyte and trueth he had well knowen and often proued be fore: and whose wysdome was moost expert and redy. Them sende he to Marius: and cōmaunded them afterwarde yf the mater required as imbassadours to take their way to Rome. And committed to them his full authorite in euery thynge which was to bedone: and to cōclude the bataple by what euer maner shulde seme best/ and moost expedyent to their dyscre sion. These imbassadours toke leaue and spedely toke their iournay to the places where the romayns soiourned the wyn ter season. But whyle they were in their iournay thyderwar de: they were assayled of theues of the getulyans/ and robbed and spoyled of all that they had about thē. Thus at last with out worshyp or apparell: all affrayed and abassshed they fledde vnto Sylla for refuge. This Sylla was left by Marius in the wyntering places: to be ruler of the romayne army in his absence. What tyme these imbassadours: thus spoyled were cōe to Sylla for refuge/ he receyued thē nat fayntly as bayne and vnstable ennemies as they deserued: but curteysly e with moch gentylnes and lyberalite/ treatyng them in all poyntes honorably. By this meanes these barbaryan and rude peple counted and supposed that the name of couetyse/ whiche was imputed vnto the romayns by cōmen fame was but false and fayned of their ennemies/ to distayne their honoure. And al so for the moch lyberalite of Sylla: they coūted hym as their speeyall frende. For yet vnto that tyme: the accloyeng of gyftꝭ whiche begyuen for rewardes and of polycie and falshode to ouercome couetous or symple myndes/ was vnknowen vnto many. No man was lyberall in gyftꝭ: but ꝓ he was thought

¶ Marius interea exercitu in hibernis composito cum expeditis cohortib⁹ et parte equitatus profi ciscitur in loca sola obsessum turrim regiā quo Iugurtha perfugas omnes præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus scilicet erga romānos seu reputando quæ sibi duobus præliis euenerāt seu monitus ab alijs amicis quos Iugurtha incorruptos reliquerat ex omni copia necessariorum quīq delegit: quorum et fides cognita et igenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium: ac deinde si placeat Romam legatos ire iubet: agendarum rerum et quocunq; modo belli componendi licētiam permittit: illi mature ad hyberna romanorum profi ciscuntur. Deinde in itinere a Getulis latronib⁹ circumuenti spoliatique pauidi sine decore ad Syllam profugiūt: quem cōsul in expeditionem profi ciscens pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille nō pro vanis hostibus vti meriti erāt sed liberaliter habuit.

Quare barbari et famā romanorū auaritiæ falsam et Syllam ob munificentiam in sese amicum esse rati sunt. Nā etiam tū largitio multis ignota erat: munificus etiam nemo putabatur nisi pariter volēs dona omnia i benignitate habebant.

and counted to be faythfull of hert withall. Thus the barbari ans reputed the lyberte and rewardes of Sylla to be a great and euydent token of loue which he had to them: as they demed. But to out purpose: the imbassadours anone opened & declared to Sylla the wyll and cõmaundement of Bocchus their kyng: gyuen to them to be executed. And also they requi red hym to be vnto them a frendly fauourer and counsellour in their besynesse. Farthermore with their wordes and spech they cõmended and exalted the army / the trueth / the greatnes and excellence of their kyng: and all other thynges which they thought might auayle them to obtayne benyuolence of the ro mayns. After they remayned with Sylla about the space of .xl. dayes: which graunted them all his helpe and socour: and also in the meane space enfourmed them in what maner they shulde order their wordes whan they shulde speke with Ma rius / and also before the senatours at Rome.

Igitur quæstorĩ mandata Bocchi patefaciũt: simul ab eo petũt: vti fautor cõsultorq; sibi adsit copias fidem magnitudinẽ regis sui: et alia quæ aut vtilia: aut beneuolẽtiæ esse credebant: oratione extollunt
Deinde Sylla omnia pol licito: doctiq; quomodo apud Marium item apud senatum verba facerent circiter dies ibidem .xl. oppetiuntur.

## How Marius harde the embassadours of Bocchus & sende them to Rome: and how they were answered of the senatours. The. lxii. chapyter.

In the meane tyme Marius whiche was in assaut of the kyngs towne coudenat fulfyll his desyre nor parfourne his enterprise. Wherfore he retourned againe to Cirtha: anone was he certified of cõmyng of ỹ imbassadours of Bocchus. Wherfore he cõmaunded them and Sylla also to cõe before hym: and also he called togyder all the moost worthy men of his hole hooste from euery place. Before them all precẽtly he cõmaunded the imbassadours of Bocchus to reherse the petycion of their kyng (which rehersed & harde) it was graũted vnto thẽ to go to Rome for the same poyntes. And of Marius was trewse required in the meane tyme bytwene Bocchus and hym. Sylla with many other noble men were pleased withall. A fewe other fiersly and sharply counselled other wyse: as men without pyte and ignorant of others harde fortune which whan it begynneth to be frowarde with men and contrary: it tourneth euery thyng to aduersyte.

But whan ỹ maurytens had obtayned of Marius all their desyre: thre of them went to Rome with one named Octauius Rufo:

Marius postq̃ infecto negotio quo intenderat redit Cyrtham: et de aduẽtu legatorum certior factus est illosq; et Syllam ab Vtica venire iubet itẽq; Lucĩũ Bellienum prætorẽ præterea omnes vndique senatorij ordinis: quibuscum mãdata Bocchi cognoscit: in quis legatis potestas eundi Romam fit: et ab consule interea induciæ postulant.

Ea Syllæ et plerisq; placuere pauci ferocius decernunt ignari rerum humanarum: quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in aduersa mutantur.
Cæterum mauri impetratis omnis rebus tres Ro-

us Rufo: whom Marius had assigned to conuey thē thyder. This Octauyus Rufo was sende before from Rome into Affrike to Marius with wages for the soudyours. The other two imbassado'rs of Bocchus returned home agayne to their kyng: which of them gladly harde of the good report whiche they made of the Romayns in euery poynt: and specially of the good wyll/ lyberalite/ and courtesy of Sylla.

¶ But whan the other thre imbassadours were come to Rōe they apered before the senatours and in the humblest wyse ỹ they coude deuyse dyd their message excusyng their kyng: and confessyng that he had offēded agaynst the impyre nat by his owne sekyng: but by the cursed faut/ prouocation/ and instygation of Jugurth: wherof their kyng sore repented. Wherfore in his behalfe at conclusyon they besought the romayns of pardon/ ampte/ and a bonde of peace. Than was it brefely answered to them in this maner

¶ The senatours and people of Rome: is wont to remembre both the kyndnesse and benifytes of their frēdes: and also the iniurpes of their ennemies. But syth it repēteth and forthynketh Bocchus of his trespas: grace and pardon of his offence is graunted vnto hym. Peace and ampte shalbe also graunted vnto hym herafter/ whan he shall so deserue.

mam profecti cum Cneo Octauio Rufone: qui quæstor stipendium in Aphricam portauerat. Duo ad regē redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cætera: tū maxime benignitatē: et studium Syllæ libens accepit. Romæq; legatis eius postq̄ errasse regem et Iugurthæ scelapsum deprecati sunt: amicitiā et fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur.

Senatus et populus romanus beneficij et iniuriæ memor esse solet. Cæterum Boccho quoniam pœnitet: delicti grati am facit: fœdus et amicitia dabūtur cū meruerit.

## ¶ How Marius sent Sylla agayne to Bocchus at his desyre: and what danger the same Sylla escaped by helpe of Volux/ sonne of kyng Bocchus. ¶ The. lxiii. cha.

When Bocchus vnderstode & knewe all these thyngs: he desyred Marius by his letts to send vnto hym Sylla: to thentent ỹ after his aduyse and discrecion counsell might be had of the cōmen besynesses to both parties belōgyng. Sylla anone was send forth w a great retynue of fotemen & horsmen: with dyuerse weapen & strong socours or defence as archars/ slyngars/ with otherlike. And to thyntēt to spede their iournay more hastely: they were all armed w lightest harnes which coude be puided: but for all the lightnes of their armo' it was defensyue ynough agaynst the weappns of the maurysans: for their weppns be light in likewyse. But finally whan Sylla had passed fyue dayes of his iournay: sodenly Volux

¶ Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus p literas a Mario petiuit vti Syllam ad se mitteret. Cuius arbitratu de negotijs cōmunibus cōsuleret. Is missus cū p̄sidio equitū atq; peditū: itē fūditor et balistarior. Preterea iere sagittarij: et cohors peligna cū velitaribus armis itineris properādi causa neq; sec' his atq; alijs armis aduersum tela hostium q ea leuia sunt munita erant. Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux filius Bocchi

repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui temere et effuse euntes Syllæ aliisq; omnibus et numerum amplior em: et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igit se quisque expidere: arma atq; tela tentare: intendere: timor aliquātus sed spes amplior: quippe victoribus et aduersū eos quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites exploratum premissi rem vti erat quietā nuntiant. Volux aduenies quæstorem appellat: dicitq; se a patre Boccho obuiam illi simul et præsidio missum. Deinde p et proximū diem sine metu consuncti eunt. Post vbi castra locata: et diei vesper erat repēte Maurus incerto vultu pauēs ad Syllam accurrit dicit q; sibi a speculatorib⁹ cognitū haud procul Iugurtham abesse. Simul vti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atq; hortat. Ille animo feroci negat se toties fusum numidā pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset māsurum potius q̄ proditis his quos ducebat turpi fuga incertæ ac forsitan postpaulo iterituræ morbo vitæ parceret. Cæterę ab eodē monitus vti noctu proficiscerentur: cōsilium approbat: ac statim milites cœnatos eē in castris q; ignes q̄ creberrimos fieri: deinde prīa vigilia silētio egredi iubet

the sonne of Bocchus apered and shewed hymselfe to the romayns i the open feldes: with no mo but .M. men which wer scatered and dysperſed abrode neglygētly: so that they semed to Sylla: and all other a greatter nombre than they were in dede. Sylla and all his company feared them / thinkyng the as ennemies: wherfore the romayns made them redy with armour and weapen: to defende themselfe / and to resyst their ennemies: if nede shulde so requyre. A lytell feare was amonge them: but their hope and confort ouerpalled their feare. For why, they had the vpper hande before: and consydredde that they shulde bycker with them / whom they had often ouerthrowen and ouercome before. In the meane tyme the horsemen which wer sent before of both parties to espy the trueth of the mater / certifyed eche of them that all thyng was quyet & sure ynough: as it was in dede: without treason or parfyll. Volux in his metyng called Sylla by name: and welcomed hym beyngely / sayeng that he was sent from his father Bocchus to mete the sayd Sylla for his honour / socour / and defēce. And so proceded they forthwarde all this day and the nexte day after in company togyder without feare or daunger. But after that it was night and their tentes pytched: sodenly the maurysan Volux came rennyng to Sylla all pale and quakynge: and sayd that he was informed of the espyes / that Jugurth was nat fary thens. And with that prayed and exhorted hym to fle away with hym priuely by night. Sylla denyed that vterly as fierce and bolde of courage / sayeng that he feared nat a cowarde Numidyan: which so often had ben ouercome before. And that he trusted well ynough to the strength and courage of his men: and finally he gaue Volux this answere.

¶ If I knewe without dout that our sure dystruction were instant: and that I and myne shuld by slayne in the felde / yet wolde I nat fle for any drede. But rather abyde and dye manfully: than cowardely to flee and shame my people of whome I haue charge in sparyng our lyues / which be so incertayne and vsure: and parauenture shortly after this shall fynysshe with some sickenes or dysease. Is it nat better to dye in a noble quarell manly / than to lyue in shāe cowardly. Whan Sylla had thus answered: than Volux counselled hym to depart frō that place and to remoue forward by night. Therto Sylla consented: and anone commaunded his soudyours to refresshe them in their tentes with such vytels as they had / and to make plenty of fiers ouer all the place to the intent that yt

their ennemies were nere: in beholdyng the fiers they shulde thynke that they wolde nat remoue thens that night. But in the first hour of the night Sylla cõmaunded all his soudyo'rs to leaue their fiers brennynge and so to depart forwarde in their iournay with scilence: so they dyd. And went all ꝑ night long: and eupn with the sonne rysing they all beyng werped: Sylla pytched his tentes agayne. With that certayne horsemen of the Maurpans brought worde that Jugurth had taken place to his tentes: and rested about the dystance of two myle before them. Whan these tidynges were harde amonge the romayns: a maruelous and great feare entred the mynds of them all. For they thought them selfe betrayed of Volur. And so enuyrounde and compased about with falshode/gyle and treason. Many of them were which aduysed to take punisshyment of Volur: sayeng that it was a thyng vnworthy to suffre hym to escape vnpunysshed for so great a myschefe and treason agaynst them cõmytted. But howbeit ꝑ Sylla was inwardly of the same opynion: neuertheless he defended the maurian from damage. And exhorted his men to be of strong and bolde myndes: sayeng that often tyme before that tyme it had ben sene that a fewe worthy men had won byctorie of a moche multytude of cowardes. And how moch the lesse that they spared their bodyes in batayle fro fightyng: somoch the surer shulde they be: and that it semed no man to whome god and nature had gpuen handes to defende his body withall: to seke defence in his fete vnarmed by rennyng away. And that in suche a ieopardy/a noble soudyour ought nat to tourne away his body from his ennemy/though he were naked and vnarmed.

¶ Whanne Sylla had exhorted his men with suche wordes: he called vnto hym Volur: and called into wytnesse Juppyter and all his ydols to recorde the falshode and treason of Bocchus/father of Volur: which had so betrayed hym. Than for asmoch as Sylla supposed that Volur had brought hym by treason into handes of Jugurth/by counsell and cõmaundement of his father Bocchus: therfore he cõmaunded Volur a none to depart from his cõpany/and from his tentes & felde. Volur pytuously wepyng: besought Sylla nat to byleue suche thyngs in hym: and sayd ꝑ certenly by gyle nor by treason was nothyng done of hym nor of his father: but rather by Jugurth which by his subtylte had espyed & sherched their iournay & wayes by his espyes & so knowen ꝑ same. But at cõclu-

Iamq; nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sylla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur: cũ equites mauri nuntiant Jugurtham circiter duum milium interuallo ante eos concedisse. Quod postq̃ auditum est: tũ vero ingens metus nostros inuadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insidijs circumuentos. Ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum neq; apud illum tantum scelus inultũ relinquẽdum. At Sylla q̃q̃ eadem existimabat tñ ab iniuria maurum prohibet suos hortatur vti fortẽ animum gererent. Sæpe antea paucis strenuis aduersus multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto si bi in prælio minus peperciſſent: tãto tutiores fore: neque quemq̃ decere qui manus armauerit ab inermibus pedibus auxilium petere in maximo metu nudum et cecũ corpus ad hostẽ vertere. Deinde Volucem (qm̃ hostilia faceret) Iouem maximũ obtestatus: vt sceleris atq; præfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset: castris abire iubet. Ille lacrimãs orare ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factũ: ac magis calliditate Iugurthæ cui videlicet speculãti iter suum cognitum esset.

Cæterũ quoniam neq; in

gentem multitudinē haberet & ſpes opesq; ex patre ſuo penderent crederet illum nihil palam auſurum: cum ipſe filius tetis adeſſet. Quare optimum factu videri per media ei ꝰ caſtra palam trāſire ſeſe vī ptæmiſſis vel ibidē relictis mauris ſolum cum Sylla iturum. Ea resvti in tali negotio ſolet probata eſt: ac ſtatī profectī: quia de improuiſo acciderat dubio atque heſitante Iugurtha incolumes tranſeunt.

Deide paucis diebus quo ire intenderant peruentum eſt.

ſion ſayd Bolux: ſyth it is ſo that Jugurth hath no great cōpany: and that his hope/his truſt/ & confort for the mooſt part dependeth on my father: I thinke that he ſhall nat be ſo bolde to do any damage to you openly whyle I am in your cōpany: which may recorde his dedes to my father. Wherfore Sylla to thentent that ye may parceyue that no treaſon is in me: I ſhall openly go with you alone by the myddes of the tentes of Jugurth and ſo ſauely conuey you: and other ſende my folke before: or els leaue them here with your company whyther of both ſhall pleaſe you beſt. This counſell was alowed of Sylla: and anone without tary he proceded forwarde withall his company through myddes of the tentes of Jugurth. And bycauſe this was ſodenly done: Jugurth nat knowyng therof before/ he meruayled moch therat: and douted lōg what was to bedone. But at laſt he ſuffred the romayns to paſſe and to eſcape ſauſe and ſounde for loue of Bolux/ and drede of Bocchus his father. And within a fewe dayes after: Bolux & Sylla with their cōpany came to Bocchus: whether they intēded.

## Of the metyng and ſecrete apoyntmentes bytwene Bocchus and Sylla: and howe bytwene them both they abuſed Aſper/ the imbaſſadoure of Jugurth. The.lxiiii. chapter.

Ibi cum Boccho quidam numida Aſper nomine multum et familialiter agebat: præmiſſus a Iugurtha poſtq̄ Syllā accitum audierat oratū et ſubdole ſpeculatum Bocchi conſilia ierat. Præterea Dabar Maſſugradæ filius ex gente Maſſiniſſæ cæterum materno genere impar. Nam mater eius ex concubina orta erat. Mauro ob ingentia facta charus acceptusq; quem Bocchus fidē multis antea tempeſtatibus expertus illico ad Syllam nuntiatū mittit paratū ſeſe facere quæ po-

At the ſame ſeaſon ther was with Bocchus a certayne numidyan named Aſper/ which was ſende before to Bocchus from Jugurth/ by craft and ſubtylte: to eſpy his counſell/ aſſone as it was hard that Bocchus had ſende for Sylla. This numidyā was moch & familyerly cōuerſant wt Bocchus at ỹ tyme. Moreouer there was an other named Dabar ỹ ſonne of Maſſagrade: which of his fathers ſyde was of the ſtocke of Maſſiniſſa. But of mothers ſyde he was vnlyke of byrth: for his father was borne of a concubyne. This Dabar (as I haue ſayd) was at this ſeaſon alſo in the cōpany of Bocchus: and to hym dere and welbeloued for his ſubtell wyt and great actes which he had done before: and nāely bycauſe that Bocchus had founde and proued him truſty and faithfull many tymes before. Anone Bocchus ſende this Dabar to Sylla cōmaundyng Dabar to ſhewe hym that he was redy to do

euery

euery thyng whiche the romayns to hym wolde cõmaunde or assigne. And that Sylla hymselfe shuld apoynt assigne and chose a tyme and place where they myght cõmen togyder of their matters: and that he shulde nat fere nor dout though the emballadoure of Jugurth were there with hym. For he had reserued all thynges touchyng their counsell bole tyll cõmyng of Sylla: and of nothyng had apoynted/ communed/ nor concluded with the same imballadoure of Jugurth. Whiche imballadour was called thyder to thyntent that their cõmen besynesses myght bedone more at lybertie and with lesse suspectyon of Jugurth: for by other meanes they coude nat resyst nor make prouysion agaynst his gyles. Such wordes sende Bocchus to Sylla: by his trusty seruant Dabar. But notwithstandyng all these fayre promysses of Bocchus it was vnderstande þ he plonged the romayns and þ numidyans in hope of peace rather for falshode & treason after the credẽce of affrycans: than for profet to the romayns or trouth of such thyngs as he promysed to Sylla. And often tymes he cast in his mynde & douted whether he might betray Jugurth to þ romayns: or els Sylla to Jugurth: the pleasour and desyre of his mynde aduysed/ moued/ and counselled hym agaynst the romayns: but the drede whiche he had of punysshment in tyme to come: moued hym with the romayns. But to our purpose: Sylla answered vnto Dabar the messanger of Bocchus þ he wolde come thyder/ and first speke a lytell of the peace and of suche other thynges in presence of Aspar the imballadour of Jugurth: but cõcernyng the remanent of the besynesse: he wolde dysser that to cõmen secretly with Bocchus/ fewe or none called to counsell. And also he taught Dabar what wordes Bocchus shulde answere vnto hym agayne/ when they shulde cõe to cõmunycation: and so departed Dabar. But whan Sylla sawe his tyme he went to Bocchus/ and sayd that he was sent from Marius the consull to enquire if he wold lever peace or warre: and wherou he wolde conclude. Than Bocchus (as Dabar had warned hym before) commaunded Sylla to returne agayne after .v. dayes: and than shulde an answere be gyuen vnto hym. For at that tyme nothyng was concluded. That answere well noted and harde: Aspar the imballadour of Jugurth/ which was sent to espy the intreatement: and so thought he that nothyng shuld be treated nor concluded without his knowlege. And thus after this answere Bocchus and Sylla departed: eche to their tentes.

pulus romanꝰ vellet colloquio: diem: locum: tempus: ipse deligeret: cõsulto sese omnia cum illo integra habere neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret: quo eo aduocatus esset quo res comunis licentius gereretur: nam ab insidijs eius aliter sibi cauere nequiisse.

Sed ego cõperio Bocchũ magis punica fide: q̃ ob ea quę prædicabat simul romanos et numidã spe pacis detimuisse multum q̃ cum suo animo voluete solitũ Jugurtham romanis an illi Syllam traderet: libidinem aduersũ nos: metũ pro nobis suasisse.

Igitur Sylla respõdit se pauca coram aspare locuturum cætera occulte aut nullo præsente aut q̃ pauciſſimis: simul edocet: q̃ sibi responderent.

Postq̃ sicuti voluerat cõgressi: dicit se missũ a cõsule venisse quæ si ea ab eo pacem an bellum agitaturus foret. Tum rex (vti præceptum fuerat) post diem decimum redire iubet. At nihil etiam decreuisse: sed illo die responsurum.

Deinde ambo ad castra sua degressi.

## ¶Of the seconde cõmyng togyder of Bocchus and of Sylla: and of the wordꝭ of Bocchus had to Sylla: and replycation and answere of Sylla agayne to hym. And how Bocchus graunted and cõcluded to betray Jugurth to the romayns. ¶The.lxv.chapyter.

¶Sed vbi plerumq; noctis processit Sylla a Boccho occulte accersit ab vtroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur. Præterea Dabar internũtius sanctus vir iurat ex sentẽtia ambobus: ac statim sic rex incipit.

BUt after that moche of the night was ouerpassed: Bocchus prtiuely sende for Sylla/ none beyng in their company saue such as on both parties might truely interprit and declare the sentence and vnderstandyng of their wordꝭ. And also Dabar the sayd messanger/ was present whiche solemly swore and promysed to be faythfull interpretour of both their sayengꝭ/ and sentences. Than Bocchus anone began his wordes in this sentence.

¶I haue thought forsoth: that it shulde neuer haue fortuned that I the greattest kyng of all them in these landes: and rychest of all them that I knowe: shulde haue ben bonde a meane and prtiuate person. And forsoth Sylla ouer euer I hard of you: I haue gyuen helpe & socours to many other mẽ. To sõe of myne owne voluntary and frewyll. And to some other: required of them: my selfe nat nedyng helpe of any man. But now syth I haue knowen you: I haue nede of your helpe and frendshyppe of which I am glad: nat withstãdyng other men ar wont to be sory of such fortune. And certenly this nede whiche I haue of your frendshyppꝑ is nat of me counted damage nor losse: but moch profet and pleasure. For inwardly in my mynde nothyng is derer/ nor more acceptable: whiche ye may conuenyently prtoue if it please you: demaunde and take of me armour/ men/ treasour: and finally what euer it pleaseth you in your mynde: and vse and occupy the same as your owne. And thinke ye for certayne that wyple ye lyue and I togyder: I can neuer render worthy thankes vnto your kyndnes: nor condygnely recompence your great humanyte: but euer my good wyll and mynd shalbe hole and newe agaynst you. And certenly if I may knowe your mynde & wyll: ye shall nought nede to desyre of me: I shall prtieuent your requestes with my benefytes: so that ye shall coueyt nothynge in vayne. Verely as I

Nunq; ego ratus sum fore vti rex maximus i hac terra et omniũ quos noui opulentissimus priuato homini gratiam debere: et me hercle Sylla ante te cognitum multis oratibus alijs vltro egomet opem tuli: nullius indiguí.

Id esse imminutum quod cæteri dolore solent ego lætor: fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando præcium tuæ amicitiæ: qua apud animum meum nihil charius habeo: id adeo experiri licet arma: viros: pecuniã postremo quicquid aio libet sume: vtere: et quo ad viues nunq; tibi reddi tam gratiam putaueris: sed semper apud me integra erit. Deniq; nihil me sciente frustravoles. Nam vt ego existimo re-

as I thynke it is lesse repr̃ouable and better dyssonant a thyng to be ouercome with armour: than with lyberalite. Wherfore I haue concluded in my mynde that a man shall rather ouercome me in batell with weapon and force of armes: than with lyberalite.

¶ Nowe touchyng your common wayle (for whose behynes ye haue entred hyther as procuratour of the same) this is my lettres and myn answere in the wordes. Against the romayns/ nor against their empyre: I neuer moued de nor made warre: nor to make batell against them: it was neuer in my mynde by my wyll. But the endes of my marchelle haue I endeuoured me to defend against the violentes of your armed men. But this I leaue and set a syde: lyth I se that it pleaseth you to do the same: execute and contynue ye batell with Iugurth as ye wyll. And as touchyng me: I shall nat ouerpasse the water of Mulucha/ which was boundes betwene my marches and Micipsa whyle he lyued. Nor into my countrey I shall nat suffre Iugurth frome hens forthe: to entre for socours/ as he hath done in tymes passed. Farthermore if ye desyre any thyng of me conuenyently: which I may worthely graunt/ my royalte nat dyshayned: it shall nat be denyed vnto you. Thus concluded Bocchus his wordes.

¶ Vnto these wordes Sylla and nerethelesse his owne part but moderately and withe these wordes. But to nethyng the peace and besynesse concernyng the common wayle these spake many wordes/ wherof the conclusion was suche.

¶ Syng Bocchus I insure and promesse you: that the romayns shall nat be vnkynde to you if ye do some pleasure to the: which may rather long to them all holy in comen: than to me alone. And thynke ye for certayne: that they which haue ouercome you in batayle: shall likewyse ouercome you with lyberalyte/ kyndnesse/ and good dedes: if ye so contende with the: which thyng is nowe redy in your power to do: consyderyng that ye haue Iugurth redy at your wyll and pleasure. Therfore among all benefites or pleasures: ye can do none more acceptable vnto the romayns: than to deliuer vnto them Iugurth. By this meanes shall they be moche beholden to you: and thynke ye stedfastly it shall nat be vnrewarded on our behalfe. For than shall the Senate graunt vnto you amyte and peace: and also a part of numidy whiche ye do nowe clayme: shall shall be graunted vnto you vnrequired.

¶ Bocchus herynge these wordes of Sylla: fyrst excused hym

gem armis q̃ munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum.

Cæterũ de republica vestra cui⁹ curator huc missus es paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo romano nec⁹ feci: nec⁹ factum vnq̃ volui fines meos aduersum armatos tutatus sum. Id omitto quoniam ita vobis placet. Cerite vti vultis cum Iugurtha bellum. ego flumen Mulucham quod inter me & Micipsam fuit non egrediar. neq; id Iugurtham intrare sinam. Præterea si quid me vobisq; dignũ petiueris haud repulsus abibis.

Ad ea Sylla pro se breuiter et modice: de pace de q̃ comunibus rebus multis disseruit.

Denique regi patefecit: quod polliceatur senatũ et pplm romanum: quoniam armis amplius valuissent non in gratiam habiturum, faciendum aliquid quod illorum magis q̃ sua retulisse videretur: id adeo in promptu esse quoniam Iugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si romanis tradidisset fore vt illi plurimum deberet amicitiam: fedus: Numidiæ partem quam nunc peteret: tunc vltro aduenturam.

Rex primo negare agitã

re cognitionem affinitatem prĕterea fœdus iter uenisse. Ad hoc metuere ne fluxa fide vsus populariũ animos auerteret. quis et Iugurtha charus et romani inuisi erant. Deniq; sæpius fatigatus leniter et ex voluntate Syllæ omnia se facturũ promittit.

Cæterum ad simulandũ pacem cuius numida defessus bello auidissimus erat: quæ vtilia visa sunt constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

At rex postero die Asparem Iugurthæ legatũ appellat dicitq; sibi per Dabarem ex Sylla cognitũ posse conditionibus bellum componi. Quam ob rem sui sentĕtiam exquireret. Ille lætus in castra Iugurthæ proficiscitur.

Deinde cũcta ab illo edocta properato itinere post diem octauum redit ad Bocchum et ei nunciat Iugurthã cupere omnia quæ imperarĕtur facere sed Mario parũ confidere. Sæpe antea cũ imperatoribus romanis pacem cõuentam frustra fuisse. Cæterũ Bocchus si ãbobus cõsultã et ratam pacem vellet: daret operã vt vna quasi de pace i

selfe by the affynyte which was betwene hym and Jugurth: and by the long fauntyarite and aquayntãce which they had togyder: sayeng also that a bonde of peace was confyderate and swone betwene them. And also ỹ he fered and suspected that if he so dyd: his owne subgetti shulde hate hym therfor which moch loued Jugurth: and greatly hated ỹ romayns. But nat withstãdyng these wordes of Bocchus: Sylla desyred nat to attyse and counsell hym: tyll at last he agreed & consẽted to his desyre: promysing to do euery thyng as Sylla requyred hym. But to thyntent to fayne a treaty of peace (of whiche Jugurth weryed in warre was moche desyrous) they ordayned such craft: as to their purpose semed moost expedyent. But whan they had ymagined and deuysed all thynges after their myndes: than both they departed in sonder: and retourned agayne to their rest.

## How we Bocchus betrayed Jugurth and delyuered hym bounde vnto Sylla. ¶ The. lxvi. cha.

On the morowe after Bocchus called to hym Aspey the imbassadour of Jugurth / and sayd to hym that he vnderstode of Sylla by the interpretacion of Dabar that ỹ warre might be finysshed vpon certayne condycions. Wherfore he bad hym go and inquire the mynde and pleasure of his kyng in that behalfe. Aspey of these tydynges was glad and toke his leaue of Bocchus: and departed to the tentes of Jugurth: and certyfied hym of the same. Jugurth shewed to Aspey: all his mynde and pleasure cõcernyng the premisses. And within. viii. dayes after: sende hym agayne to Bocchus. Whan Aspey was retourned agayne to Bocchus: he shewed to him the wyll of Jugurth / sayeng that Jugurth couepted to do all thyng which shulde be cõmaunded to hym of Bocchus: but he had but small trust or cõfydence in Marius. For asmoch as the peace which ofte̅ before had ben conuented and apoynted of the romayne captayns had anon after ben frustrate: and broken of thẽ agayne. But if ye wyll (sayd Aspey to Bocchus) that peace shalbe confermed of the romayns with Jugurth and you also: Jugurth desyreth and requireth you to labour so: that Sylla / Jugurthi fryse: may

come to

coms togyder to cõmunycation: as if it were to treat of peace and that ye wyll there betray and delyuer Sylla to hym. For yf ye may ones bring such a man into power & handes of Jugurth: anone after it shall fortune without dowte that peace shalbe made and graunted to him by cõmen assent of the senatours: and commens of Rome also. And that: to thyntent to recouer Sylla agayne out of the handes of Jugurth. For wout dout the romayns wyll nat suffre so noble a man to be left in handes and danger of their ennemies. And namely: whan they shall vnderstande hym taken/ nat by his owne folly nor cowardyse: but in belynesse belongyng to the cõmen wayle.

¶ Bocchus heryng these wordes: reuolued and cast long in mynde what he might answere to them: but at last he graunted therto. But whether he douted so long before he graũted: for subtylte or very trouth/ it is harde to dyscerne. But this is playnly knowen: that for the moost part in like wyse as the wylles and myndes of kynges be behement/ immoderat/ and hasty: right so be they mouyng/ vnstedfast & vary able. And often aduers and contrary to their owne selfe: and with them selfe repugnyng. But to our mater: Bocchus assigned to Aspey a place and tyme: where Sylla and they shulde cõmen togyder of the peace. And in the meane whyle somtyme he cõmuned secretly with Sylla: somtyme with Aspey ambassadour of Jugurth/ treatyng them both meekely and couertly: and promysyng one selfe thyng vnto them both. Wherfore they both were gladde: and also eche of them both had good hope in the promysses of Bocchus.

¶ But the night before that day: which was assigned to intreatment of the peace: Bocchus called vnto hym dyuerse of his frendes/ as yf he wolde haue taken counsell of them: and than immedyatly he chaunged that mynde cõmaundyng the agayne to auoyde from hym. And so (none of his counsell about hym) he stode all alone revoluyng & tournyng in mynde many thynges by hymselfe alone/ chaungyng oftentymes in countenaunce/ and colour vary able and vnstable: aperynge forthwarde by tokens of fare the dyuersite of his mynde and expressed by outwarde tokens of his body. In somoche: that all yf he expressed nat his mynde by wordes: neuertheles this often changing of coũtenance/ declared the secretes of his hert. But at conclusyon: after long conflyct had within hymselfe: at last he cõmaunded Sylla to be called vnto hym. And than after his aduyse and counsell/ he deuysed & prepared all thyngs

colloquium conuenirent is ibiq; Syllã sibi traderet: cum talem virum in potestate habuisset tum fore vti iussu senatus ac populi romani fieret: neq; hominẽ nobilem nõ sua ignauia captum: sed ob remp. in hostium potestate relictum iri.

Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu voluens tandem pro misit. Cæterum dolo an in re cunctatus parũ cõperimus sed plerumq; regiæ voluntates vt vehementes sic mobiles: sæpe ipsæ sibi aduersæ.

Postea tẽpore et loco cõstituto in colloquium vti de pace cõueniretur Bocchus Syllam modo: modo Iugurthę legatum appellare: benigne habere: idem ambobus polliceri: illi leti pariter ac pal lore ne esse plenis sed nobis quæ proxia fuit ante diem colloquio decretum maurus adhibitq; amicis ac statim immutata volũtate remotis a se cæteris dicitur secum multa agi tauisse: vultu/ colore/ ac motu corpis pariter atq; animo varius quæ scilicet ipso tacente occulta pectoris oris immutatione patefecit

Tamen postremo Syllam accersiri iubet: et ex ei sententia numidæ insidi

concernyng the prodycion of Jugurth.

¶ After this counsell cõcluded: assone as ỳ day light apered: tidynges were brought to Bocchus/ that Jugurth was nat farre thens: and commyng towarde hym. Bocchus thys herynge: anone prepared hymselfe and proceded forth agaynst hym accompanyed with a fewe of his frendes/ and also with Sylla: sayninge that he went so forth to mete with Jugurth and to receyue hym/ bycause of honour. And thus they proceded forwarde: tyll at last they came to an opyn heyth/ where they might easely se the commynge of Jugurth: whiche place was apoynted before to their treason. For in dyuerse baleys of the same heyth: were armed men lyenge in wayt redy and apoynted before by Bocchus: for to assayle Jugurth and his company/ whan signes shulde be gyuen to them: to yssue forth of their lurkyng places. Anon Jugurth with many of his mẽ about hym came to the same place all vnarmed: as apoyntement was made before. For it was ordayned that Bocchus/ Jugurth/ and Sylla: shulde come togyder to cõmunycation: eche one with a small company/ and all vnarmed.

¶ Anon as Jugurth was come thyder: kyng Bocchus gaue a token to his men/ which lay in wayt for Jugurth. Anone as they harde the token ordaynde they blake forth and inuaded Jugurth and his company: compasyng them about on euery syde. Without great labour: all the company of Jugurth were murdred: and he hymselfe taken and bounde hande and fote/ and so delyuerd vnto Sylla. Which without tary ledde hym forth and delyuerd hym vnto Marius: whose hert was replenysshed and inuyroned/ with ioye inestymable.

## ¶ Howe Marius was receyued into Rome with triumphe: and howe Jugurth was cast into prison: where he contynued in mysserable captiuyte tyll he dyed. The lxvii. chapyter.

Ateri obtruncati Jugurtha vinctus Sylla traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

us rendit. Deinde vbi dies aduenit et ei nunciatum Jugurthan haud longe esse cũ paucis amicis et quæstore nostro quasi obuio honoris causa procedit: tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus eodem numido cum plerisq; necessariis suis inermis vti dictum erat accedit: ac statim signo dato vndiq; simul ex insidijs inuadit.

After that Jugurth thus bounde was delyuered by Bocchus vnto Sylla: and than to Marius. Anone all the numydyans/ submytted and yelded themselfe to the romayns. Marius with great wysedome sette an ordre among the people/ and garnysshed and fortyfied the townes: and than with the remanent of his army toke his iourney agayne to Rome: leadyng Jugurth and his two sonnes bounde with hym: with innumerable other prisoners/ great treasour/ olyphantes/ and armoure: whiche he had wonne in the warre of Jugurth. But after that tidynges were brought to Rome: howe the warre was ended in Numidy: and howe Jugurth was ledde thyderwarde bounde and prisoner. Anone the Senate and commens assembled to consyle: and Marius was create consull agayne for the nexte yere: in his absence. And by decre and ordynaunce: the prouynce of Fraunce was decreed and committed vnto hym to be recouered.

¶ For the same tyme whyle Marius warred i Numidy: and toke Jugurth prisoner. This countrey of France (whose people that tyme were named Cymbrians) rebelled agaynst the empyre of Rome. Agaynst whom the romayns sende forth to repelle their rebellyon: a great army with two captayns: the one named Quyntus Scippo/ the other Marcus Mālpus: which at last with frowarde fortune had a great and greuous batell with ꝑ same frenchmē Cymbriās. In which both these romayne capytains were ouercome: and cruyse lost the felde. Of the romayns men of warre: were slayne. lxxx. thousande of tylmen: and pages. xl. thousande. Thus was this batayle foughten with so yll fortune vnto the romayns: that the cytie of Rome/ and all the countrey of Italy trymbled for fere therof. In somoch that both the romayns which lyued at ꝑ tyme: and all their progeny which succeded after them: counted all other nacyons redy to their obeisance: and to wynne honoure by them: but they thought neuer to contende in batayle with this nacyon of frenchmen: to wynne glorie or honour by thē: but rather to defende thēselfe and their lybertie: which thyng if they might do/ they counted themselfe fortunate. Wherfore (as I haue before recounted) the Senate: and commens of Rome/ decreed this prouynce of Frōance to Marius for to reueng the deth of their men: and to recouer the countrey.

¶ Per idem tēpus aduersum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Quito Scipione/ et Caio Manlio male pugnatum est.

Quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat.
Illiq; et denique omnes romani vsq; ad nostram memoriam sic habuere: alia omnia virtuti fuæ prona esse: cū Gallis pro salute non pro gloria cse etat.

Sed postq̃ bellum in Numidia cõfectum et Iugurtham Romam vinctũ adduci nuntiatum est. Marius cõsul absens factus est et ei decreta prouicia gallia.

Is q̃ kalẽdis Ianuarij magna gloria consul triumphauit.

Ex ea tempestate spes atque opes ciuitatis in illo sitæ. Telos.

¶But (to our purpose) whan Marius shuld entre into Rõe he was ioyfully receyued with great glorie and tryumphe: wherof the order was suche. Marius hymselfe was sette on hye in a golden chayre: which was drawen of foure whyte pal frayes. Jugurth and his two sonnes/ with many other noble men: whome he brought captyue frome Numidy/ proceded before his charyot: their handes and armes bounde as prisoners. Farthermore for more ample ostẽtation of his glorie/ and to declare howe moche he had inryched the commen wayle of Rome: all the elyphantes/armour/ iewels treasur/ and rychesse whiche he had wonne in Numidy of Jugurth: were ledde and borne before him. Than all the senatours. All the offycers and noble men of Rome/ with an vnnumerable multytude of commens receyued hym with all honoure and ioye: and conuayed hym vnto the princypall palayes of Rõe/ named the Capytoll: where he made sacrifyce with a bull vnto Jupyter: for his victorie: after the custome of that tyme. His sacrifyce ended: than was he conuayed into the Senate house/ in his robe triumphall: as neuer consull was brought before his tyme. Marius was receyued at Rome with suche triumphe at the kalendes of January. From thens forth all ỹ hope of confort/ helth/ socours: and welth of the cyte of Rome resyted on Marius.

¶Jugurth was casten into prison: where he ended his wretched lyfe in myserable captiuyte/ and many folde calamytees/ as to suche a murderer vnnaturall: and tyran inhumayne was conuenyent.

Finis.

¶ Thus endeth the famous cronycle of the war which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth vsurper of the kyngdome of Numidy. Which cronycle is cõpyled in laten by the renowmed romayn Salust. And translated into englysshe by sir Alexander Barclay preest: at cõmaundement of the right hye and mighty prince/ Thomas duke of Northfolke. And imprented at London by Rychарde Pynson/ printer vnto the kynges noble grace: with priuylege vnto hym graūted by our sayd souerayne lorde the kyng.